

Lieut. Colonel Spiller.

Huggate

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# Dellon's ACCOUNT OF THE INQUISITION AT GOA.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH.

**With an Appendix,**

CONTAINING

An Account of the Escape of Archibald Bower, (one of the Inquisitors) from the Inquisition, at Maçerata, in Italy.

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# ADVERTISEMENT.

The Translator, having been forcibly impressed by the interesting narrative in Dr. Buchanan's "*Christian Researches in Asia,*" of his intrepid attempt to explore the secrets of the Prison House of the Inquisition at Goa, was induced to make some inquiry for the work of the Sieur Dellon, so frequently referred to in that relation. He was so fortunate as to procure one by the intervention of a friend.

The recent evidence given to the world upon the subject of the Inquisition;* the providential train of events,

* See "The Narrative of the Persecution of H. J. "Da Costa, imprisoned and tried in Lisbon by the

which appears to have placed the power of its extinction in the hands of a Protestant nation; and the collateral connexion of the subject, with some of the most important questions now in agitation;—all seem to unite in rendering a translation of M. Dellon's work likely to prove acceptable to the public.

The Tribunal of the Inquisition still exists with dormant but not stifled energies; and continues to act with undiminished hostility to literature, reason and liberty, even in modern Europe; though with less ostentatious publicity, than in Dellon's time in Asia. The same spirit evidently pervades the system; the same laws and maxims regulate its action.

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" Inquisition, for the pretended Crime of Free Ma-
" sonry,"—*in July*, 1802;—and, " A Letter upon the
" mischievous Influence of the Spanish Inquisition, as
" it *actually exists* in the Provinces under the Spanish
" Government," translated from " El Espanol," a periodical journal now publishing in London. Also see
" Buchanan's Memoirs."

It is surely with reluctance, that the people of the 19th century must admit the fact, that the illumination and liberality of the Christian world, have not long since devoted the Inquisition and its practices to the page of history alone! But what will future ages say, when it is recorded in the annals of imperial Britain, that even at this period, the tower of Juggernaut, and the dens of the Inquisition were supported by her protection?

The Translator is sensible of the defects of his performance; but he may be permitted to palliate the objection, if not excuse the fault, by observing that it was executed amidst very different avocations; and with more anxiety, perhaps, for its completion, than its excellence. He pretends to no other merit than that of Fidelity. In no instance, to the best of his judgment, has he deviated from, or altered, the meaning of the author; but he has sometimes found it necessary to

divide one sentence into several; and he thought it would tend only to increase the size and expense of the book, if he retained the account of the different places visited by M. Dellon.*—That the task had fallen into abler hands he sincerely wishes; but he preferred to incur the charge of imprudence on his own account, rather than risk the non-appearance of a work, which he believes capable of subserving the best interests of humanity.

Some pains have been taken to obtain information respecting the author; but without being able to collect more than has been furnished by Dr. Buchanan. The work is dedicated to a lady of the French court, but with such excess of the characteristic adulation of that country, that the Translator conceives it might disgust the blunt frankness of an English

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* The chapters omitted are the 3d, 4th, 5th, 6th, 7th, 8th, 42d and 43d.

reader. Who, after perusing the following pages, could suppose that all the author's sufferings were richly repaid by the opportunity afforded to lay the relation at the feet of the beautiful Mademoiselle Du Cambout de Coislin, (whose portrait is judiciously prefixed!) Or that its circulation was less to be desired for the sake of the information it conveyed, than to preserve her illustrious name, and remain a proof of his eternal respect, &c. &c.!

It remains only to add, that the copy from which this translation is made, was printed at Paris in 1684, and is, as well as a translation probably published about the same time, extremely scarce.

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The "Account of Bower's escape from the Inquisition, at Macerata," which is annexed, came into the hands of the Translator several years ago. To pretend

to vouch for the veracity of the relation, would be too perilous an undertaking, in defiance of the generally received opinion of the Narrator's character; but of its authenticity, as related by himself to a lady, (from a copy of whose minutes the Translator's was made,) there is little room for doubt.

He believes that the story, in substance at least, has been already published; but as it possesses much interest, and, in many points, corroborates Dellon's account of the principles and practice of the Inquisition, it is presumed that it may be thought no unsuitable companion to it.

# *ADVERTISEMENT*

## BY THE AUTHOR.

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It is but too common to find books whose pompous titles promise a great deal, but which, deceiving the reader's expectation, contain any thing but what they profess. A different method has been adopted in the present work; and those who will take the trouble to peruse it will confess, that the title inadequately describes the contents.

I have confined myself to giving a faithful relation of what I have observed in the Inquisition, without interrupting it by many remarks; leaving my readers at liberty to make them for themselves. Those who have some slight knowledge of the Holy Office, will have no hesitation to believe all that I relate, and that I have not exaggerated any thing; and,

however extraordinary the proceedings and formalities of the Inquisition may appear, the reader may be assured that I have stated nothing but what is strictly true.

I do not pretend to censure the Inquisition itself; I am even willing to admit that the institution may be good; and it is certain that in those places where it originated, so much severity has not been exercised as in Spain and Portugal, and in the countries dependant on those crowns where it has been planted; but, like all human establishments, which, though pure in design, are subject to relaxation and abuse, it is not surprising that these have also found their way into the tribunals of the Holy Office.

It is then the abuse only, of which I complain; yet the inquisitors who affect such profound secrecy as to every thing respecting their tribunals, may be displeased at the liberty of exposing matters the concealment of which so materially concerns them; but, besides that the dis-

closure may, if they choose, be advantageous to themselves, I have considered it my duty no longer to withhold from the public a communication which must be of the highest utility to it: in fact, it is important that those who, from curiosity or avocations, reside in places where the Holy Office exercises its jurisdiction, should be informed what they ought to avoid or to do, in order to elude its power, and to prevent the experience of a misfortune like that which is the subject of this narrative.

# ACCOUNT, &c.

## CHAPTER I.

*The motives of giving this account to the public.*

EVERY one knows in general what is meant by the Inquisition; that it is established in certain places, as Italy, Spain, Portugal, and the greatest part of the countries which are dependant upon them; and that the judges execute a system of jurisprudence, unknown to other tribunals, with extreme rigour over the people under their power. It is also understood that the exercise of this severity is not equal nor general; as the Inquisition in Spain is more severe than that in Italy, and less so than that in Portugal and its colonies. The maxims of this unprecedented jurisprudence, their examination, and many of their results, may be found in several publications; but I know of no one who has dared to speak of what passes under the secrecy of the

tribunal. Its officers are too deeply interested in maintaining its jurisdiction, to withdraw the veil; and as to those who, having had transactions with them, are acquainted with their practices, and may have reason to be dissatisfied with them, the dread of the horrid tortures inflicted on those convicted of breaking the oath of secrecy imposed before their liberty is restored, renders the mysteries of the Inquisition so impenetrable, that it is almost impossible ever to learn the truth, without being so unfortunate as to be conducted into its prisons, and thus acquiring experimental knowledge; or from the information of one who has happily not sunk under that misfortune, and who, when enclosed in the frightful solitudes of the Holy Office, must have carefully noted all that occurred during his detention, and after his liberation can relate in safety what he has suffered and observed.

These various reasons operate to prevent many persons from being acquainted with the transactions of this formidable tribunal. And as, next to the duty we owe to God, we have none more incumbent than that of serving our neighbour, and more especially the public, I conceive myself bound to present it with a re-

cital of my sufferings, and observations in the prisons of the Inquisition; to which I shall subjoin what I have been told by persons worthy of credit, whom I have known intimately, both during the period of my incarceration and since my release.

I have long hesitated as to the publication of this account; for eight years have elapsed since my return to France, and upwards of four since the account was written. I was afraid to offend the Holy Office and to break my oath; and my apprehension was increased by some pious but timid people, who entertained similar sentiments. Others, equally religious, but whom I thought more enlightened, afterwards convinced me, that it was important to the public in many respects to be thoroughly instructed as to this tribunal, and that the relation might even be serviceable to the gentlemen of the Holy Office, if they knew how to profit by it, and still more so to those who have the power to regulate its proceedings, and restrain its jurisdiction: and that with regard to an oath, so unjustifiably extorted as that exacted by the Inquisition, under the dread of being burnt, general utility was a sufficient dispensation to the conscience of the party taking it,

and consequently imposed a sort of obligation upon him to communicate what he knew.

Such are the motives which have induced me to withhold, and at length to publish, this account; and if the retention has deprived the world of a particle of useful information, it will at least excuse me from the charge of precipitation, and prove that the recital is not influenced by the ill-usage I have sustained.

It remains only to observe, that what I have to say of the Inquisition of Goa, ought to be understood of those of Portugal and Spain; for, though the latter is less cruel than the two others, inasmuch as the public executions, called Acts of Faith, are less frequent in that country; and though ignorance is more prevalent in the Indies than in Portugal; yet it may be inferred from a narrative which appeared in the Gazette of France of the 22d of August 1680, that the same spirit, the same rules, and the same rigour direct all the executions of the Inquisition in each of those countries; since there are circumstances there stated even more horrible than those of the Act of Faith in which I bore a part.

## CHAP. II.

*Ostensible causes of my imprisonment.*

I WAS staying at Damaun, a town in the East Indies, in possession of the Portuguese, to rest from the fatigues I had endured in various voyages, and to recruit myself for the more ample gratification of my passion for travelling; but where I had hoped to find repose, I encountered the commencement of troubles infinitely greater than those which I had previously borne.

An unfounded jealousy imbibed against me by the governor of Damaun was the true cause of the persecutions I have suffered from the ministers of the Inquisition. It may easily be supposed that this was not alledged in the accusation brought against me; but, to serve the revenge of the governor, other pretexts were used, and the means at length contrived to banish me from the Indies, in which I might else have passed the remainder of my life.

It must be allowed that though the avowed grounds might be unsatisfactory to persons instructed in the faith and the truth, they were

quite sufficient with a people actuated by such prejudices and principles as the Portuguese; in which light they appeared to be so plausible, that it was not until the conclusion of the affair that I discovered the real motives of my arrest.

The first opportunity which I gave to my enemies to resort to the Inquisition for my ruin, was a conversation with an Indian priest, a Theologian of the order of St. Dominic:—But, before I proceed, I ought to say, that though my conduct might not be entirely conformable to the sanctity of the religion in which I was baptized, I have ever been attached to the faith of my ancestors, that is, to the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman Church; and that God hath endowed me with more respect for its doctrines, than the generality of christians seem to feel towards them. I have always delighted in hearing and reading, and never read any thing with more enthusiasm than the Holy Scriptures, as well the Old as the New Testament, which I usually carried about my person. I had taken pains to acquire a knowledge of scholastic theology, because in extensive travels all descriptions of men, of every religion and sect, are to be met with; and I disputed freely with Heretics and Schismatics.

I possessed several books upon the subject, and had received much information, both from discourse and study, during the leisure afforded by my voyages, and my residence in various parts of India. I therefore conceived that I was able to enter the lists with even professed Theologians, and innocently fell into the snare with this priest. I lodged with the Dominicans, at their pressing invitation, and we lived together in great kindness and familiarity. I had even rendered them services on several occasions, to prove my gratitude for the honour they had done me, and the friendship they testified. We frequently entered into conversation, and that which I had with the priest I have named, was upon the effects of baptism.—We agreed upon the three kinds which the Catholic Church acknowledges; and it was merely for the sake of argument, and not from doubt, that I proposed to deny the efficacy of that which is called *Flaminis;* and to support my opinion, I adduced the passage, "*Except a man be born of water and of the spirit,* &c." (John iii. 5.) I had scarcely ceased speaking when the good father withdrew without making any reply, as if he had been called away by some urgent business, and, as it appears, went to

denounce me to the Commissary of the Holy Office. I was often afterwards in his company, and as he shewed no coolness towards me, I was far from thinking him unfriendly.

I have frequently been where little cabinets, on which are painted the figures of the Holy Virgin, or some other saint, have been carried round. The Portuguese are accustomed to salute the image, and those who are devoted to the fraternity place their alms in the box. Every person is at liberty to give or not; but the kiss cannot be dispensed with, without offending the assistants. I was then only twenty-four years of age, and had not all the prudence which a person ought to have who lives amongst strangers, to whose customs he should conform as much as possible; and as I had not witnessed these ceremonies before, I sometimes refused to receive and kiss the cabinet,—whence it was concluded, (surely too rashly!) that I despised the image, and was consequently heretical.

I once happened to be at the house of a Portuguese gentleman, whose son was to be bled for some indisposition; and I observed that the youth had an ivory image of the Holy Virgin in his bed, which he reverenced much, and often kissed and addressed himself to it. This

mode of worshipping images is usual amongst the Portuguese, and gave me some disturbance; because, being misinterpreted by the Heretics, they are thereby more than by any other reason prevented from returning to the Church. I told the youth that if he did not take care, his blood would spirt upon the image; and, on his replying that he could not part with it, I intimated that it would embarrass the operation. He then reproached me by saying, that the French were Heretics, and did not worship images. To which I answered, that we ought to honour them; and that if we might be allowed to use the word "*worship*," it could be with reference to those of our Saviour alone, whilst the adoration related to the person only represented by them; and I quoted the Council of Trent, session 25.

About the same time, it chanced that one of my neighbours came to me, and seeing a crucifix at the head of my bed, said, "If you should happen to bring any female home with you sir, do not forget to cover this image!" "How!" said I, "do you think it is possible to hide ourselves from God; and, like your dissolute women after locking up their rosaries and relics, believe you may abandon yourself with-

out delinquency to all sorts of excess? Pray, sir, entertain more elevated sentiments of the deity, and do not fancy that a slender veil can conceal our sins from the eyes of God, who clearly penetrates every secret of our hearts. Is this crucifix more than a piece of ivory?"

Here we ended; and my neighbour, on retiring, acquitted himself of his supposed duty, by denouncing me to the Commissary of the Inquisition; for it is proper to state, that every person resident in places subject to the Holy Office is obliged, under pain of the greater excommunication, reserved to the Grand Inquisitor, to denounce, within thirty days, whatever he has heard or witnessed on matters within the cognizance of the tribunal:—and because many do not fear the penalty, or doubt whether they have incurred it; in order to oblige the people to pay implicit obedience to this command, the inquisitors have declared, that those who fail in making this denunciation within the time prescribed, shall be reputed guilty, and punished as if they had themselves committed the crime they have not revealed. The consequence of which is, that friends betray their friends, fathers their children, and children, through zeal without discretion, forget the duty

which God and nature impress upon them towards those from whom they derive existence.

The obstinacy with which I objected to wear a rosary contributed to confirm the belief of my heresy, no less than my refusal to salute the images. But what tended more than any thing to my imprisonment and condemnation was, that being in a company where moral justice was treated of, I said, " that it deserved rather the term of injustice; since man, judging from appearances which are often deceptious, was liable to make inequitable decisions; and that God, only knowing things as they are, he alone could be called truly just." Some one present observed " that, generally speaking, what I had said was true; but a distinction was to be made;—for if true justice was not to be found in *France*, *they* had the advantage of a tribunal whose decrees were not less just, nor less infallible than those of Jesus Christ." Well knowing that he alluded to the Inquisition, I asked, " if he thought the inquisitors less human, or less subject to their passions than other judges?" " Do not answer me in that manner," replied the defender of the Holy Office; " if the inquisitors composing

the tribunal are infallible, it is because the Holy Ghost perpetually dictates their decisions." I could not long endure a discourse which appeared to me to be so irrational; and to prove to him by example that the inquisitors were any thing but what he represented them to be, I related to him the adventures of Father Ephraim de Nevers, a Capuchin, and Apostolic Missionary in the Indies, who, as M. de la Boulaye le Gou informs us in his Travels, had been arrested by the Inquisition from pure malice about seventeen years before, and had been confined and ill treated for a length of time; and I concluded by telling him, that I did not doubt that this priest was more virtuous and more enlightened than those who had caused him to be immured in a prison, without permission even to repeat his breviary. I concluded by saying, that I thought it was fortunate for France that this severe Tribunal had not been introduced there, and most happy for myself that I was not subject to its Jurisdiction. This conversation was exactly reported to the Father Commissary; and, added to what I had broached before, ultimately occasioned the process against me.

[Titles of the Chapters omitted in the translation, as mentioned in the Advertisement.]

## CHAP. III.

*A concise description of the Cape du Verd, the Cape of Good Hope, and the Isle of Bourbon.*

## CHAP. IV.

*Description of the Isle of Dauphiny, or St. Lawrence.*

## CHAP. V.

*Departure from the Isle of Dauphiny for the Indies. Description of Mosambique, the Isle of Socotora, and the Red Sea.*

## CHAP. VI.

*Containing an account of what is remarkable at Surat.*

## CHAP. VII.

*Concerning the different kingdoms of Malabar, between Ceylon and Cape Comorin and Goa.*

## CHAP. VIII.

*An abridged description of the city of Goa, Chaoul, Basseen, Damaun, and other small towns.*

## CHAP. IX.

*Visit to the Commissary of the Inquisition, to prefer my own accusation, and request his advice.*

NOTWITHSTANDING the inviolable secrecy which the Inquisition exacts upon oath, from all who approach its tribunal, some rumour reached me of the depositions made against me; and the dread of falling into the hands of the Holy Office, impelled me to go to the Commissary, from whom I expected counsel and protection, because I had been introduced to him by persons of respectability, and he had always pretended friendship to me from the time of my arrival at Damaun.

I related to him ingenuously, and step by step, what had occurred; and then requested he would instruct me how I should behave myself in future: assuring him that I had no bad intention, that I was ready to correct myself, and to retract whatever I might have advanced which he deemed to be improper.

The good father confessed that my proceedings had offended many, that he was convinced that my intention had not been bad, and that

there was not even in what I had said any thing positively criminal; but he advised me, nevertheless, to accommodate myself a little to the habits of the people, and to speak less freely of such subjects; andparticularlyrespectingimages, which I had repeatedly declared, and had attempted to prove by reference to the scriptures and the fathers, ought not to be worshipped; that the people, it was true, were led away by some slight errors, which passed for genuine religion, but that it did not become me to undertake to correct and reform them.

I thanked the Commissary for his good advice, and left him with much satisfaction; because I knew that, being my own accuser, before I was convicted, I could not, by the laws of the Inquisition, be further charged. I was also extremely delighted with the justice and integrity of this good father, who not thinking me culpable, had freely given me directions how to conduct myself with such caution for the future, as not to give occasion for the slightest shadow of suspicion.

## CHAP. X.

*Containing the real causes of my detention, and the manner of my arrest.*

ALTHOUGH what I have stated in the preceding Chapters was more than sufficient for my destruction, according to the maxims of the Inquisition, and the customs of the country; matters would not have proceeded either so far, or so hastily, if the governor of Damaun, Manuel Furtado de Mendoza, had not been instigated by the jealousy to which I have alluded. His dissimulation was such, that he appeared to be one of my best friends, though secretly pressing the Commissary of the Holy Office to write to the Inquisition at Goa, to communicate to them the expressions I had used; being determined not to suffer the opportunity to escape, which I had inadvertently afforded him, of making sure of me, and driving me from Damaun for ever. The cause of the governor's jealousy was, the frequent but innocent visits which I paid to a lady whom he admired, (and by whom he was truly beloved, which I then knew not,) and, as he judged from appear-

ances only, he imagined I was more favourably received than himself.

A black priest, Secretary to the Holy Office, who lived opposite the lady's house, was as much enamoured as the governor; and had repeatedly solicited her to gratify his infamous passion, even when at confession, as the lady herself informed me.

On noticing my attentions, he became as jealous as the governor; and although he had hitherto been on friendly terms with me, and I had even done him some important services, he eagerly joined with Don Manuel Furtado in oppressing me.

The rivals, thus united, urged the commissary so unremittingly, that upon the information, which, at their entreaty, he sent to Goa, he received an order from the inquisitors for my arrest; which was executed in the evening of the 24th of August, 1673, on my return from the house of a lady of great respectability, called Signora Donna Francisca Pereira, the wife of one of the principal gentlemen of the town, Manuel Peixotte da Gama. This lady, who was about sixty years of age, considered herself indebted to me for the lives of her eldest daughter, and her grand-daughter; and indeed

I was so fortunate as to be of service. The daughter fell sick when the mother was from home, and the unskilfulness of a Pundit, or Indian physician, had reduced her to the last extremity, when I was called in. I treated the disorder as I thought proper, and she recovered. On the mother's return, (overjoyed at the restoration of her beloved daughter,) her grand-child, who was, if possible, more endeared to her, became indisposed, and was in greater danger than her aunt had been; but, as before, I was not sent for to the little invalid at first, but delayed until her case was desperate. I found her in a high fever, and although on the point of delirium, the Indian physician, instead of letting her blood, had covered her head with pepper, which I immediately caused to be removed. My applications were successful, and in a few days she was perfectly convalescent. From that time the lady, impressed with gratitude, overwhelmed me with presents, and wishing that I should reside near her, had allotted me a house opposite to her own. It was on the very day on which she presented me with this house, and as I was quitting the mansion of this generous lady, in order to return to my residence, when the Criminal Judge of the town

accosted me, and commanded me to follow him to the prison; whither I was conducted, without deigning to acquaint me by what authority, until after I entered it.

Great as was my surprise when this officer arrested me, yet, as I felt conscious of no crime, and believed that at the most I had been apprehended for some slight matter, I imagined (with sufficient reason) that Manuel Furtado, who had always professed much regard for me, would not suffer me to remain all night in prison; but when my conductor told me that it was by order of the Inquisition, my astonishment was so extreme that I was for some time motionless. On recollecting myself a little, I requested to speak to the Commissary, but to complete my distress, they told me he had set off that day for Goa. So that no comfort was left me but the hope which every one encouraged, that I should be soon discharged; because the Holy Office was not only just in its decisions, but it was infinitely more disposed to mercy, and especially towards those who confessed their faults with a good grace, without long solicitation.

All these fine speeches did not prevent my feeling my present misfortune very sensibly,

and the company of my friends, who failed not to visit me, so far from consoling, afflicted me the more, by the comparisons I drew between their condition and my own.

As I had no enemies but concealed ones, they easily intermixed with my best friends. The governor and the black priest, who wished for nothing so much as my being taken away, well knew how to dissemble their jealousy and malice; the former, by sending some officers of his household to assure me that he participated in my distress, and to offer me any thing that was in his power; and the other by coming to the gate to shed a few false tears, which joy rather than condolence caused to flow.

## CHAP. XI.

*Description of the prison of Damaun. I write to the Inquisitors without success. The extreme misery of the prisoners.*

The prison of Damaun is adjacent to, but below the level of the river, and is consequently damp and unhealthy. A few years since it was inundated, by a hole which had been made in the wall by some prisoners for the purpose of escaping.

The walls are very thick. The prison consists of two large halls on the ground floor, and one above; the men being confined in the lower, and the women in the higher story. The largest of the lower halls is about forty feet in length, by fifteen feet in breadth, and the lesser one is about two-thirds of those dimensions. About forty persons were confined in these rooms, without any other place for answering the ordinary demands of nature; and where the collected water formed a pool in the centre of each apartment. The women had no other convenience on their floor; but with this advantage, that the water ran off from their hall and

filtered through the boards into ours, which thus became the reservoir of both. The only receptacle for our other excrements, was a large tub, emptied but once a week, and engendering an immense quantity of worms, which crawled over the floor, even upon our beds.

Whilst I continued in this prison, the pains which I took to have it cleansed rendered it rather less disgusting; but though I often obliged them to throw on even fifty buckets of water in a day, the stench was intolerable.

So soon as I was immured in this melancholy abode, and seriously contemplated my mischance, I readily discovered its occasion, and resolved to omit nothing which was likely to bring it to a termination.

My friends perpetually inculcated, that the best and surest mode of regaining my liberty was to make a voluntary confession of what I might even conjecture only to be the ground of accusation against me. Willing, therefore, to avail myself of their counsel, I wrote to the Grand Inquisitor at Goa; I told him candidly every thing of which I supposed I might be accused, and beseeched him to believe that if I had erred, it was rather from levity and im-

prudence, than from any ill intention. My letter was faithfully delivered; but, contrary to my wishes, and the hope of my friends, I received no answer, and was allowed to languish in this noisome and dark dungeon, along with several blacks, who, as well as myself, had been arrested by order of the Holy Office.

The considerate benevolence of the generous Donna Francisca, which was undiminished during the whole period of my imprisonment at Damaun, made it rather more supportable. That noble lady was not content with sending me mere necessaries only, but I daily received from her sufficient to maintain four persons, both plentifully and luxuriously. She herself took the trouble to prepare my victuals, and the slave who brought them was regularly accompanied by one of her grandsons, to witness the delivery, lest any of her domestics, or the gaoler, might be suborned to poison me; and, as she could not personally visit me, she caused her husband, her children, or her sons in law, to come to me every day.

The other prisoners were not so fortunate. As there is no appointed subsistence for them, the magistrates refer the charge to the charity of those who may be disposed to bestow it; and

there being but two persons in the town who distributed food to them regularly twice a week, (the greater part having nothing during the remainder,) they were reduced to so pitiful a condition, as to contribute, in no small degree, to encrease my own.

I gave them all I could spare from my allowance; but some of these poor wretches, who were not confined in the same apartment, were so pressed by hunger as to be compelled to devour their own excrements. Upon this occasion I learnt, that some years before, about fifty Malabar pirates, having been taken and thrown into this prison, the horrible famine which they suffered induced forty of them to strangle themselves with the linen of their turbans.

The distress I witnessed induced me to write to the governor and the principal people in the town, who at length had the kindness to send some relief to the wretched victims of the Holy Office.

## CHAP. XII.

*The return of the Father Commissary. My removal to Goa.*

The Father Commissary, as I have already stated, saw nothing criminal in the confession I had voluntarily made to him; and though it had been otherwise, I ought, according to the laws of the Inquisition, to have remained at large; but as that was not the intention of the governor or the black priest, the good father, superseding the laws in their favour, had accused me as a dogmatizing heretic. He might have sent me to the Inquisition at Goa immediately upon my imprisonment, and had he so done I should have been liberated three months afterwards, at the Act of Faith in December; but it not according with the views of my rivals that I should be free so soon, the Commissary, so far from transporting me to Goa, went thither himself, to avoid my remonstrances and petitions, and did not return until after the celebration of the Act of Faith, that is, towards the latter end of December. Whether he might not employ the four months of his absence in

representing me to the Inquisitor as a very bad and dangerous man, whom it was necessary to remove out of the Indies, I am ignorant; but I have reason to suspect he did so, from the affected severity of my sentence, which was considered to be extraordinary, even in Portugal.

The Commissary returned on the 20th of December with the flotilla, which, at that season, usually escorts merchant ships from Goa to Cambay.

The Father, who had an order to cause all the prisoners of the Inquisition to embark in the galliots, gave me notice to be ready to depart when the fleet returned from Cambay.

M. l'Abbé Carré passing through Damaun, on his return from St. Thomas's, where M. de la Haye then was, with much difficulty obtained permission to see me; and had the goodness to come to me on Christmas eve, and also the next day, when he departed for Surat.

I wrote again to the Commissary, and entreated him, by different persons, that he would permit me to speak to him; but neither my letters, nor the solicitations of those who interested themselves for me, could prevail upon him; so justly apprehensive was he of being reproached for his insincerity.

About this time, a Portuguese, called Manuel Vas, with whom I was intimately acquainted, being accused of having a wife in Portugal, was arrested by an order of the Holy Office for having married a second at Damaun, and was lodged in the same prison with me.

My benevolent protectress being informed that I was to be transferred to Goa, was not neglectful to furnish me with provisions sufficient for a much longer voyage than that I was about to take. Part of the fleet returning from Cambay on the last day of December, the Commissary sent chains and fetters for the prisoners who were to depart with it. The blacks were chained together two and two, but some of them were so debilitated by hunger, that their feet, which they had not power to use, were unloosed on their embarking. The Portuguese and myself were honoured with separate irons; and the Commissary had the politeness to intimate that I might have the choice of those destined for his countryman and myself. To profit by his civility, I chose the most commodious, though the heaviest; and was conveyed with my feet in fetters in a Palanquin to the banks of the river, where I met several of my friends, whom I was allowed to embrace on

exchanging our adieus. The governor, who was there also, omitted nothing that might persuade me that he was concerned at my misfortune, and expressed a thousand hypocritical wishes for my speedy release and happy return. The sight of my friends, and their tears, augmented my affliction; but no circumstance gave me greater pain than being refused the privilege of taking leave of my benefactress, whom I was ardently desirous to thank for all her kindness. At last, after many sorrowful compliments, I was forced into a boat, and put on board one of the galliots of the little fleet, which waited only for the orders of the general.

## CHAP. XIII.

*Departure from Damaun. Arrival at Basseen, and abode there. Arrival at Goa.*

ALTHOUGH several of the galliots and vessels had not yet arrived from Diu and Cambay, the General, Louis de Mello, made the signal for those which were at Damaun, to sail on the 1st day of the year 1674, for Basseen, to wait until the remainder of the fleet should join. As the wind was fair, and we had only twenty leagues to traverse, we reached Basseen the day following; and, immediately after the anchors were dropt, the prisoners were landed, and conducted to the prison for security, whilst the fleet continued in the port. I was taken there with the rest; and a friend of mine, who had recently settled at Basseen, having unsuccessfully attempted to obtain permission to visit me, expressed in a letter, which he had considerable trouble to get conveyed to me, how much he commiserated my fate.

The prison of Basseen is more spacious and less filthy than that of Damaun. We found there many companions in misery, whom the

Commissary of the Inquisition at that town had detained for some time, in expectation of an opportunity to send them to Goa.

They were all chained as we were. We re-embarked on the seventh, and all the fleet being assembled, and provided with necessaries, we weighed anchor and sailed the next day.

Nothing remarkable occurred during the rest of the voyage; we were always within sight of land, and with a favourable breeze arrived on the fourteenth on the bar of Goa.

Our captains having previously apprized the Inquisitor, we were landed the next day, and led by his order to the Inquisition; but this not being an audience day, one of the officers conducted us to the prison of the Ordinary, that is, of the Archbishop of Goa, called by the Portuguese "*Aljouvar.*" I was one of the first who entered it, and afterwards saw all our unfortunate company, which had been dispersed during the voyage, come in by degrees.

This prison was more foul, dark, and horrible than any one I had seen, and I doubt whether there can be one more nauseous and appalling. It is a sort of cavern, where the day is but just distinguishable through an extremely narrow aperture, where the subtlest

sun-beam can scarcely penetrate, and where a clear light is never beheld.

The stench was excessive; for there was no other place for the necessities of the prisoners than a well sunk in the floor, in the midst of the cavern, which it required some resolution to approach; from which cause part of the ordure remained upon the brink, and the greatest part of the prisoners did not even go so far, but made their evacuations all around. When night approached, I durst not lie down for fear of the swarms of vermin, and the filth which every where abounded, but I was constrained to recline against the wall. Yet, shocking as is the *Aljouvar*, I would have preferred it to the neat and light cells of the Holy Inquisition; because here I had the blessings of society and conversation, but in the prisons of the Holy Office I was informed those enjoyments were debarred.

## CHAP. XIV.

*The manner in which I was conducted to the Inquisition, and the observances used there towards prisoners on their entrance.*

I HAD begun to flatter myself that I should be permitted to remain in the *Aljouvar*, until my business was settled, as I was not removed during that day and the ensuing night; but all my hopes vanished, when an officer came about eight o'clock in the morning of the 16th of January, with an order to take us to the *Santa Casa*, which was immediately executed. On account of my fetters, it was with great difficulty that I reached the place to which I was conducted, yet with these sad appendages we were obliged to walk from the *Aljouvar* to the Inquisition; and, having been assisted in ascending the steps, I entered, along with my companions, into the great hall, where some Smiths attended to knock off our irons. I was the first person summoned to the audience.

After crossing the hall, I was ushered into an antichamber, and thence into the apartment where my judge was seated. This place, which

is called by the Portuguese, "*Mesa do Santa Officia*," which signifies "the Board of the Holy Office," was adorned with tapestry, composed of taffety, in stripes of blue and citron colour. At one extremity, was a large crucifix in relief, reaching almost to the ceiling. In the centre of the room was a platform, upon which stood a table, about fifteen feet in length, and four broad, with several armed chairs placed around it. At one end of this table, and on the same side as the crucifix, the Secretary sat on a folding stool. I was placed opposite to him. Near me, on the right, in an armed chair, was the Grand Inquisitor of the Indies, Francisco Delgado Ematos, a secular priest, about forty years of age. He was alone, because the second of the two Inquisitors, usually resident at Goa, and who is always a religious of the Dominican order, had recently gone to Portugal, and his successor had not been appointed.

Immediately upon entering the audience chamber, I cast myself at the feet of my Judge, with the design of affecting his feelings by my suppliant attitude; but he would not suffer it, and commanded me to rise. Having asked my name and profession, he interrogated me if I knew the occasion of my arrest, exhorting me

to confess it freely, as the only means of obtaining a prompt discharge. After satisfying him as to the two first inquiries, I told him that I believed I did know the cause of my detention, and that if he would have the goodness to hear me, I was ready instantly to become my own accuser. I added tears to my entreaties, and again prostrated myself before him; but my Judge, without the slightest emotion, said, that there was no haste; that he had other matters more important than mine to attend to, and that he would let me know when he should have leisure for it; and taking up a little silver bell, which was laid before him, rang for the *Alcaide*, or Gaoler of the Holy Office, who came in and led me into a long gallery, not far distant, into which the Secretary almost directly followed us. My trunk was brought in and opened in my presence. I was thoroughly searched, and every thing about me was taken away, even to some buttons, and a ring which I wore on my finger, without leaving me any thing but my rosary, my handkerchief, and some pieces of gold which I had sewn into one of my garters, and which they neglected to examine. An exact inventory was immediately taken of the rest of my property, but which has since proved to

have been wholly useless, as nothing of value was ever restored to me, although the Secretary then declared that every thing should be given back upon my release; and the Inquisitor himself often afterwards reiterated the same promise.

The inventory being finished, the *Alcaide* took me by the hand, and led me, bare-headed, to a little cell, about ten feet square, in which I was locked up alone, and saw no one until my supper was brought in the evening. As I had eaten nothing either that day or the preceding, I gladly took what was given to me, which enabled me to take some rest during the night. When my breakfast was brought the next morning, I requested to be allowed some books, and my combs; but I found that books were not permitted to any person, not even the Breviary to priests; and that I should have no use for combs, as they cut off my hair without delay, which is the practice with all prisoners of whatever rank or sex, so soon as they enter the prisons of the Holy Office, or the next day after at the latest.

I shall here break off the recital of what relates to myself, for the purpose of briefly describing the house itself, and the regulations and formalities observed in it.

## CHAP. XV.

*Description of the Inquisition at Goa.*

The palace of the Inquisition, called by the Portuguese *Santa Casa*, or the Holy House, is situate on one side of the great square, opposite the cathedral dedicated to Saint Catherine. It is extensive and magnificent; in the front are three entrances, of which, the centre is the largest, and opens upon the grand staircase ascending to the hall which I have mentioned. The two other portals severally lead to the apartments of the Inquisitors, which are sufficiently commodious for considerable establishments. Within, are various apartments for the officers of the house; and, passing through the interior, there is a vast edifice divided into distinct masses or squares of buildings, of two stories each, separated by small courts. In each story is a gallery, resembling a dormitory, containing seven or eight small chambers, ten feet square; the whole number of which, is about two hundred. In one of these dormitories, the cells are dark, being without windows, and smaller and lower than the rest; as I had

occasion to know from the circumstance of having been taken to see them, on complaining that I was too rigorously treated, in order to satisfy me that I might fare worse. The rest of the cells are square, vaulted, white-washed, clean, and lighted by a small grated and open window, placed at a height above the reach of the tallest man. All the walls are five feet thick. Every chamber is secured by two doors, one opening inwards, and the other without; the inner door is made in two divisions, is strong, well-fitted, and opened by the lower half in the manner of a grate; in the upper part is a little window, through which, the prisoners receive their food, linen, and such other necessary articles as can be so conveyed. There is a door to this opening, guarded by strong bolts.

The outer door is neither so thick nor so strong as the other, but it is entire and without any aperture. It is usually left open from six o'clock in the morning until eleven, in order to ventilate the chamber through the crevices of the inner door.

## CHAP. XVI.

*Treatment of the prisoners.*

To each person whom misfortune brings into these Holy Prisons, are given an earthen pot filled with water to wash in; another of a better kind, also filled with water to drink; with a *Pucaro*, or vessel made of a sort of sigillaceous earth, common in the Indies, and which keeps the water fresh, even if retained in it for some time; a brush to sweep the chamber; a mat to spread on the platform for sleeping; a large close-stool pan with a pot cover, which is changed every fourth day, and serves also for receiving the filth collected by the broom.

The prisoners are tolerably well kept. They have three meals daily. Breakfast is brought at six, dinner at ten, and supper at four in the afternoon.

The breakfast for Blacks, is generally *cangé*, or water thickened with rice; and their other meals always consist of rice and fish.

The Whites are treated more delicately. In the morning, a soft roll, weighing about three ounces, with fried fish and fruits; or on Sundays,

and sometimes on Thursdays, a sausage. On the latter days, also, they have meat to dinner with a roll, as in the morning; a dish of rice and some ragout, with abundance of sauce to mix with the rice, which is prepared with water and salt only. On other days, they have nothing but fish to dinner. The suppers chiefly consist of bread, fried fish, a dish of rice, and a ragout of fish or eggs, the sauce of which may be eaten with the rice; but not any flesh, not even on Easter-day. I imagine that this regimen is used as much for the sake of economy, (fish being very cheap in the Indies,) as to mortify those who have incurred the pain of the greater excommunication; and at the same time, it preserves them from the cruel disorder which the Indians call *Mordechi*, proceeding from indigestion, and which is frequent and fatal in these climates, especially in a place where exercise cannot be taken.

The sick receive every necessary attention with the greatest care. Physicians and surgeons visit them when required, and if the disease becomes dangerous, confessors are introduced; but the Viaticum and Extreme Unction are never administered in this house, nor is either Sermon or Mass ever heard there.

Those who die in prison, are interred within the house without any ceremony; and if, according to the maxims of the Tribunal, they are deemed to have incurred capital punishment, their bodies are taken up, and their remains preserved to be burnt at the next Act of Faith.

As it is always hot in the Indies, and no books are allowed to any person in the Inquisition, the prisoners never behold fire or any other light than that of day. In each cell there are two platforms for the purpose of reposing upon, as it sometimes happens that two persons are confined together. In addition to the mat which is given to every prisoner, Europeans have a checked counterpane, which serves for a mattress; there being no need of a covering, except to avoid the persecution of the Mosquitos, which are in such numbers as to occasion one of the greatest inconveniences endured in this melancholy abode.

## CHAP. XVII.

### *Of the different officers of the Inquisition.*

There are two Inquisitors at Goa. The chief, called the Grand Inquisitor, is always a secular priest; and the second, a religious of the order of St. Dominic. The Holy Office has also officers denominated Deputies of the Holy Office, who are very numerous, and of all orders of religious. They assist at the final decision of the cases of criminals, and in preparing the accusations against them; but do not attend the Tribunal, unless summoned by the Inquisitors. There are others called *Qualificadors* of the Holy Office, to whom is committed the charge of examining the propositions in such works as are suspected to contain any thing contrary to the purity of the Holy Faith; but who do not assist at the judgments, and come to the Tribunal only to make their reports.

There are besides, a Proctor and Solicitor; and Advocates for such prisoners as wish to have them; but whose assistance is better adapted to extract their private opinions, and to deceive

rather than to defend them; and even if their fidelity was unsuspicious, their protection would be useless to the Accused, to whom they are not permitted to speak, except in the presence of their Judges, or of persons who are sent to make a report of the conference.

The Inquisition has other officers called Familiars of the Holy Office, who are, properly speaking, the Tipstaffs of the Tribunal. Persons of all ranks, even Dukes and Princes, are proud of being admitted to this noble function. They are employed to arrest those who are accused, and it is customary to depute a Familiar of equal rank with the party to be apprehended. These officers have no wages, and they deem themselves sufficiently rewarded by the honour conferred upon them in serving so holy a Tribunal. They wear the honourable distinction of a gold medal, engraved with the arms of the Holy Office. When one of them is ordered to make an arrest, he goes alone; and having declared to the party that he is summoned by the Inquisitors, the latter is obliged to follow him without reply; for, on the slightest resistance, every body would assist the execution of the warrants of the Holy Office.

There are also attached to the institution, several Secretaries, "*Marentios*," or Tipstaffs, properly called Inspectors ; an *Alcaide*, or Gaoler, and Guards, to watch the prisoners, and carry them their food and other necessaries.

## CHAP. XVIII.

*The deportment of the Officers of the Inquisition towards the prisoners.*

As all the prisoners are separated, and it rarely happens that two are confined in the same cell, four persons are more than sufficient to guard two hundred. A perpetual and rigid silence is preserved in the Inquisition, and those who venture to utter their complaints, to weep, or even to pray to God too loudly, are liable to be beaten by the Guards; who, on hearing the slightest noise, hasten to the spot from whence it proceeds, to require silence; and if a repetition of the order be not obeyed, they open the doors, and strike without mercy. This serves, not only to correct the party who receives the chastisement, but also to intimidate the rest; who, from the profound stillness which reigns around, all hear his cries and the sound of the blows. The Alcaide and the Guards are always in the galleries, and sleep there during the night.

The Inquisitor, attended by a Secretary and Interpreter, visits every prisoner about once in

two months, to inquire if any thing is wanted, if the victuals are brought at the appointed times, and if there are any complaints to be preferred against the officers; and as soon as answers are returned to these three questions, the door is instantly closed. In effect, these visits are made for no other purpose than to display that justice and goodness, of which there is so much parade in this Tribunal; but they produce neither comfort nor advantage to the prisoners who may be disposed to complain, nor are they ever treated with more humanity in consequence.

Such of the prisoners as are wealthy have no better allowance than those who are poor, the latter being provided for by the confiscations levied from the former; for the Holy Office seldom fails to seize all the property, real and personal, of those who are so unfortunate as to fall into its hands.

## CHAP. XIX.

*Formalities observed in the Inquisition.*

When a person is arrested by the Inquisition, he is first asked his name, and profession or quality, and is then required to render an accurate statement of all his effects. To induce him to do this the more readily, he is assured, in the name of Jesus Christ, that if he is innocent, all that he shall so declare will be faithfully returned to him; but otherwise, even though he should be acquitted, such articles as may be discovered to belong to him, and not included in the list, will be confiscated. From the universal prepossession entertained of the sanctity and integrity of this Tribunal, it frequently happens, that a person, whose conscience reproaches him with no crime, and gives him no reason to doubt that his innocence will be acknowledged, and his liberty consequently restored, without hesitation exposes his most private and important concerns.

It is not, however, without some plausibility, that the public mind is prejudiced in favour of this Tribunal; which, considered externally

only, dispenses justice with more lenity and charity, than any other known jurisdiction. Those who voluntarily become their own accusers, and testify their repentance before they are apprehended, are allowed to be at large without fear of imprisonment. It is true, that those who do not accuse themselves until after their arrest, are deemed guilty, and are condemned as such; but no one is sentenced to any temporal punishment extending to death, who is not clearly convicted. Two or three witnesses only, as in lay jurisdictions, are here considered too few for conviction; and, though two witnesses are sufficient to obtain an order for a person's apprehension, seven at least are necessary for his condemnation. However palpable his guilt, or enormous the offence, the Holy Office is satisfied with the ecclesiastical penalty of excommunication, and the confiscation of property; and should the criminal be amenable to the civil courts, if he confesses his crime, he is, for the first time, exempt from all temporal and corporal punishment. The Holy Office intercedes for him, suspends the secular arm, and obtains his pardon, if to be procured by interest or entreaty.

It is true, that should he repeat his offence, the Inquisition cannot again save him; but it abandons him with reluctance, and only delivers him to the civil judge, upon his promising that if the relapsed criminal should receive sentence of death, it shall be executed without effusion of blood. Here is tenderness!

But after saying all that can be alledged in favour of the Holy Office, some particulars must be added, which will explain the nature and extent of this apparent lenity and kindness. The witnesses are never confronted; all descriptions of people are received as witnesses, even such as are interested in the death and condemnation of the accused; he is not suffered to make any remark upon the evidence of persons the most notoriously undeserving of credit, and the most defective in their testimony. The number of the witnesses is often reduced to five; in which are comprehended supposed accomplices, whose depositions are extracted by torture, and who, to save their own lives, avow what they have not done; and the accused himself, who confessing on the rack the crime of which he is guiltless, is also reputed as a witness. The number of seven is often substantially reduced to none, from being composed of

convicts, who are really innocent of the offences imputed to them, but whom the Inquisition renders effectually criminal, by compelling them, either from dread of the stake, or by torture, to accuse the guiltless in order to save themselves. To make this mystery intelligible, it should be noticed, that amongst the crimes cognizable in the Inquisition, there are some which may be committed by one person alone, as blasphemy, impiety, &c. There are others which cannot be committed without one accomplice at the least, as sodomy; and others again, which require several, as assisting at the Jewish Sabbath; participating in those superstitious assemblies which the converted Idolaters so reluctantly relinquish, and which are denominated Magic and Witchcraft, because they are held in order to discover secret matters, and penetrate into futurity by means which cannot naturally lead to such results.

It is in regard to such crimes as cannot be perpetrated without one or more accomplices, that the proceedings of the Holy Office are the most extraordinary.

The Jews having been expelled from Spain by Ferdinand, king of Arragon, and Isabella of Castille, his queen, sought refuge in Portugal,

where they were allowed to settle on the condition of embracing Christianity, at least in outward profession. As the Jewish name is every where odious, the Christian families are distinguished from the converted Jews, whose descendants, however remote, are termed, even to this day, *New Christians;* and as, in course of time, some of them have formed matrimonial connections with the old Christians, their issue are daily reproached with being in part *new*, which the Portuguese express by saying, " *Tem-parte de Cristam novo ;*" so that, though their grandfathers and great grandfathers may have been Christians, these unfortunates are unable to procure admission into the number of " *Cristam velhos*" or Old Christians. The families which are thus directly or partially descended from Jews, being well known in Portugal, and the objects of hatred and malevolence to some, are obliged to associate together, for the interchange of mutual services, which they cannot receive from others ; and this very union increases the contempt and aversion which are entertained towards them, and is the general occasion of their troubles.

## CHAP. XX.

*The injustice committed in the Inquisition towards those accused of Judaism.*

To elucidate this matter, I will suppose that a *New* Christian indeed, but who is nevertheless most sincerely and truly a Christian, though descended from one of those unfortunate families, should be arrested by order of the Inquisition, and accused not by seven witnesses only, but by fifty. Such a man, convinced of his own innocence, which he trusts will be indubitably acknowledged, will have no hesitation in presenting an exact inventory of all his property, relying upon its being faithfully restored to him. Yet the door of his prison will be scarcely closed, before every thing that he has, is sold by auction; for assuredly, restitution will never be made.

After some months have elapsed, he is sent for to the Audience, where he is asked if he knows the cause of his imprisonment. To this, of course, he answers in the negative. He is then exhorted to consider seriously, and confess, as his only chance of freedom; and is then

remanded to his confinement. Some time afterwards, he is again brought in, and many times interrogated to the same purport, without producing any other answer than before. But when the period of the Auto da Fé approaches, the Proctor waits upon him, and declares, that he is charged by a great number of witnesses, of having *Judaised;* which means, having conformed to the ceremonies of the Mosaic law; such as not eating pork, hare, fish without scales, &c. of having attended the solemnization of the sabbath, having eaten the Pascal Lamb, &c. He is then conjured "by the bowels of the mercy of our Lord Jesus Christ," (for such are the terms affected to be used in this Holy House,) voluntarily to confess his crimes, as the sole means to save his life; and the Holy Office desires, if possible, to prevent his losing it. The innocent man persists in denying what he is urged to confess; he is, in consequence, condemned as "*convicto negativo*," (convicted, but confessing not,) to be delivered over to the secular power, to be punished according to law, that is, to be burnt.

Notwithstanding this, he is continually exhorted to accuse himself, and provided he does so before the eve of the Act, he may escape

death. But if he persists in asserting his innocence in despite of all exhortation and solicitation, and even the torture to which he is subjected, to compel him to be his own accuser; the order for his death is delivered to him on the Friday immediately preceding the Sunday of the celebration. The decree is signified in the presence of a Tipstaff of the Lay Courts, who casts a cord round the hands of the pretended culprit, to testify that he has taken possession of him, on his abandonment by ecclesiastical justice. A confessor is then introduced, who remains with him day and night, and perseveres in pressing him most urgently to confess the charges against him, in order to save his life. Should he continue in his denial until Sunday, he is cruelly executed; and should he accuse himself, he is rendered infamous and wretched for his whole life. If the advice of his confessor and the fear of punishment induce him to acknowledge crimes which he has not committed, he must demand to be conducted to the audience, which is instantly granted. Being brought before his Judges, he is first required to confess his guilt, and then to entreat for mercy, as well for his crimes as his obstinate denial of them; and, as they assume the supposition, that his

avowal is sincere, he is obliged to detail all his faults and all his errors; and the testimony which has been deposed against him being communicated to him, in order to comply with the requisition to the utmost, he repeats all that he hears.

He, perhaps, then concludes, that he shall be discharged; but he has other things to perform, which are infinitely less easy than what he has hitherto done; for the Inquisitors, by degrees, begin to urge him in this way—"If thou hast observed the law of Moses, and assembled on the sabbath day as thou sayest, and thy accusers have seen thee there, as appears to have been the case; to convince us of the sincerity of thy repentance, tell us who are thine accusers, and those who have been with thee at these assemblies."

It is not easy to assign the motive, why the gentlemen of the Holy Office oblige these pretended Jews to conjecture who are the witnesses against them, unless it is, that the witnesses of the sabbath are considered as accomplices; but how is the poor wretch that is innocent, to divine who they are? and, though he were guilty, what is the use of naming them to the Holy Office, which knows them already, because it has received their depositions, upon which,

alone, he is treated as such? In all other cases, the names of the witnesses are concealed from the criminal, to screen them from his reproaches; but here he is made to guess them. Admitting that they are accomplices, the Inquisition knows them no better by their being named. If they have been forced to avow their offence in the prisons of the Inquisition, they either remain there still, or have been in them; and the Holy Office can have no interest in making the accused name them, which cannot render him more innocent, nor them less culpable. The offender and the witness are equally in the power of the Inquisition;—what then is the object of these Judges? If it is only to compel him to impeach all his accomplices, by his attempts to name all his witnesses, that might be of service, if he were really guilty; but, if he is not, this imposition is of no other use than to harass the innocent:—and so it is, for the poor *New Christian* being obliged to mention people whom he does not know, to the Inquisitor who does, (for otherwise, the avowal of a crime of which he is not guilty, would avail him nothing) reasons much in this manner:——"Those who have accused me, must necessarily be my relations, my friends, and my neighbours; and

in fine, some of the New Christians with whom I have associated, for the Ancient Christians are never apprehended or suspected of Judaism; and probably, these very persons are placed in the same situation with myself; I will, therefore, accuse them in return:" and as it is impossible that he should exactly guess those who have deposed against him, in order to make up the number of his six or seven accusers, he names a great many innocent persons who have never thought of him—against whom, however, he himself becomes a witness by this declaration; upon which, they are arrested, and kept in the prisons of the Holy Office, until, in course of time, seven witnesses (like the one I have described,) are mustered against them, and ensure their condemnation.

## CHAP. XXI.

*The practices of the Inquisition.*

It may be inferred from what has been said in the preceding Chapter, that the miserable victims of the Inquisition reciprocally impeach each other; and that, consequently, a man may be perfectly innocent, although there are fifty witnesses against him; and yet, innocent as he is, if he should not accuse himself, or guess freely, he is delivered up to the executioner as fully convicted; which would happen less frequently if the accuser, witnesses, and accused were confronted.

The practice observed towards persons suspected of Judaism, and what has been said in respect to them, is to be understood of persons charged with Sorcery, from having attended the superstitious assemblies I have mentioned; and here the difficulty of naming the witnesses is increased, because they have not, like the New Christians, to look for their accusers and accomplices in a certain class; but must find them indiscriminately and fortuitously amongst their acquaintance, friends, kindred,

enemies, and persons connected with no sect whatever; which is the more embarrassing to the innocent in these casual and extorted accusations, as he must denounce a greater number, to recognize in such a crowd of innocent persons, the witnesses respecting whom he is interrogated.

The effects of those who are executed and of those who confess, are alike confiscated, because they are equally reputed guilty. The Inquisitors do not so much desire the death as the property of their victims; and as, according to the laws of the Tribunal, apostates, and such as persevere in denying their accusations, are alone delivered to the secular arm, the Judges do every thing in their power (not omitting torture, which they have the goodness to inflict to the extreme, in order to save their lives) to induce them to confess. But the true reason, which makes them so anxious that a man should be his own accuser, is, that having declared himself to be guilty, the world has no right to doubt that his property is justly forfeited. The remission of the penalty of death to these pretended criminals, confounds weak minds, by an ostentation of mercy and apparent justice; and tends not a little to maintain the opinion

of the sanctity and lenity of this Tribunal, which could not long exist without this artifice.

It may be proper to observe here, that those who have thus escaped death by their extorted confessions, are strictly enjoined, when they leave the prisons of the Holy Office, to declare that they have been treated with great tenderness and clemency, in as much as their lives, which they justly merited to lose, have been spared. Should any one, who has acknowledged that he is guilty, attempt to vindicate himself on his release, he would be immediately denounced and arrested, and burnt at the next Act of Faith, without hope of pardon.

## CHAP. XXII.

*Other acts of injustice, commonly committed by the Inquisition.*

The Judges of the Holy Office might readily ascertain the truth or falsehood of the charge of Judaism, would they take the trouble to investigate the matter without prejudice; and to consider, that of an hundred persons condemned to be burnt as Jews, there are scarcely four who profess that faith at their death; the rest exclaiming and protesting to their last gasp, that they are Christians, and have been so during their whole lives; that they worship our Saviour as their only true God; and that on his mercy, and the merits of his adorable sacrifice, alone, they repose their hope; but the cries and declarations of these unfortunates, (if one may so call those who suffer for not avowing a falsehood,) fail to touch these gentlemen, who imagine, that this authentic confession of their faith, which so many make at the very moment of death, deserves not the smallest consideration; and who believe, that a certain number of witnesses, whom the fear of being burnt only

obliges them to accuse the innocent, are sufficient to screen them from the vengeance of God. But if so many Christians, deemed to be Jews, are unjustly delivered to the executioner in all Inquisitions; neither less great, nor less frequent injustice is committed in the Indies, towards those accused of Magic or Sorcery, and condemned to be burnt for those crimes.

To place this in a proper light, it should be premised, that the Heathens, whose religion abounds with superstitious rites,—(as, for instance, to divine the issue of an undertaking or disease—whether one is beloved by a certain person—the thief who has stolen what is lost—and other things of the like nature)—cannot so readily nor so entirely forget these things, but they often recur to them after they are baptized. This will be thought the less extraordinary if we recollect, that in France, where the Christian religion has been established for so many ages, persons are yet to be found who believe in, and practise many of, these impertinent ceremonies, which even time has not caused to be forgotten; that the Heathens, so recently converted, have passed the greatest part of their existence in Paganism; and that those who live in the states of the King of Portugal, are

subjects or slaves, who change their religion in the expectation of better treatment from their Lords or Masters. Yet these faults, which in rude and ignorant people appear rather to deserve stripes than the stake, are expiated by that cruel punishment, by all those who are convicted thereof according to the maxims of this Tribunal,—for the second time, if they have confessed the first,—or for the first, if they persist in denying. The Inquisition also punishes, not only Christians who fall, or are accused of falling, within the cases under its cognizance; but Mahometans, Heathens, or other Strangers of whatever persuasion, who commit any of the prohibited offences, or who publicly exercise their religion in the countries subject to the King of Portugal; for though that Prince tolerates liberty of conscience, the Holy Office interprets the permission, that strangers *may live* in their own Faith, but are liable to be punished as criminals if they *practise* its ceremonies.—And, as in the territories of the Portuguese in India, there are more Mahometans and Heathens than Christians; and the Inquisition, which punishes apostate Christians with death, never sentences to that penalty those who have not been baptized, though they

should relapse a hundred times into the same errors, but generally commutes it for banishment, corporal correction, or the galleys; the dread of being liable to be sentenced to the flames, hinders many from embracing Christianity: and the Holy Office, instead of being useful in these parts, for the propagation of the Faith, deters people from the church, by rendering it an object of horror to them. From the continual chain of accusations, which is the necessary consequence of what has been stated, and the ease by which any person can denounce his enemies with impunity, the prisons of the Inquisition are never long empty; and though the Acts of Faith are celebrated, at the latest, every two or three years, it frequently happens, that at each, there are two hundred prisoners, and often more.

## CHAP. XXIII.

*Some particulars relating to the officers of the Inquisition.*

There are four Inquisitions in the Portuguese dominions, viz:—In Portugal, those of Lisbon, Coimbra, and Evora; and in the East Indies, that of Goa. These are all sovereign Tribunals, without appeal in all matters within the extent of their respective jurisdictions. The Inquisition of Goa comprehends all the countries possessed by the crown of Portugal, to the Cape of Good Hope. Besides these four Tribunals, there is a Grand Council of the Inquisition, in which, the Inquisitor General presides. This Tribunal is the chief, and whatever is done in the others, is reported there. In addition to the honour, and unbounded authority and appointments, annexed to the posts of all the Inquisitors, they derive very considerable emolument in two ways. One arises from the sale of the effects of the prisoners, in which, if any rare or valuable article should be comprised, the Inquisitors have but to send a servant to bid for it, (and few would dare to offer a greater price,)

whereby things are often obtained by them, for the half of their real worth. The other mean of profit is still more important: when the produce of a confiscation is remitted to the Royal Treasury, the Inquisitors have the power of sending warrants at their pleasure, and for any amount, to answer the charges and secret occasions of the Holy Office, which are instantly satisfied, without any one daring to inquire the particulars of these privy expenses. By these means, almost the whole of the seizures return into their hands.

All the Inquisitors are nominated by the King, and confirmed by the Pope, from whom they receive their bulls. At Goa, the Grand Inquisitor alone, has, or claims the privilege of a carriage, and receives more respect than the Archbishop or the Viceroy. His authority extends over all descriptions of persons, as well Lay, as Ecclesiastic; except the Archbishop, his Grand Vicar, (who is generally a bishop,) the Viceroy, and the Governors in case of the Viceroy's decease; but he can cause any of these to be arrested, after previously informing the court of Portugal, and receiving secret orders from the Sovereign Council of the Inquisition of Lisbon, called, "*Conselho Supremo.*"

This Tribunal assembles every fifteen days, unless some extraordinary occasion should require it to be convened oftener; but the inferior councils regularly meet twice a day, from eight to eleven in the morning, and from two to four in the afternoon—and sometimes later, especially previous to the Acts of Faith, when the sitting is often prolonged until ten in the evening.

On the final decision of the cases, besides the *Deputados* who attend officially, the Archbishops or Bishops of those places where the Inquisition is established, have a right to be present, and preside upon all the judgments pronounced. But it is time to return to what concerns myself.

## CHAP. XXIV.

*In what manner I was conducted to the first Audience, and the result.*

IMMEDIATELY after I was shut up in the prisons of the Holy Office, I was informed, that when I wanted any thing I had only to knock gently at the door, and the guards would attend, or to ask for it when my meals were served; and that if I wished for an audience, I was to address the Alcaide, who, as well as the guards, never speaks to the prisoners without a witness. I was also taught to believe that my liberation would be the consequence of confession, which caused me to importune those officers to take me before my Judges; but, after all my tears and entreaties, this favour was not granted until the 31st day of January, 1674. On that day the Alcaide entered with a guard, about two in the afternoon. I dressed myself as he directed, and left my cell uncovered and barefoot. The Alcaide walked before, and the guard followed me, in which order we proceeded to the door of the audience room; where the Alcaide advancing a little forwards, made a profound

obeisance, and withdrew to give me room to enter alone. I found there, as on the former occasion, the Inquisitor and Secretary. I threw myself on my knees, but was commanded to rise, and be seated. I placed myself on a bench at the end of the table beside my Judge. Near me, upon the table, was a Missal, upon which, previous to my further proceeding, I was directed to lay my hand, and swear to declare the truth and preserve secrecy. These oaths are exacted from every one who is brought to this Tribunal, either as a witness, or as amenable to its jurisdiction.

I was then asked if I knew the cause of my imprisonment, and had determined to confess it; and having signified that I wished to do so, I minutely repeated all that I have already stated, touching Baptism and the worship of Images; without mentioning what I had advanced respecting the Inquisition, which at that moment I did not recollect. The Judge enquired if I had not something else to say; and, finding that I had related all that I could remember, instead of releasing me as I had expected, he terminated this fine audience in nearly the following terms:—"That I had very properly resolved to become my own accuser, and that

he conjured me in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, fully to confess all that I knew; that I might experience the goodness and mercy extended by this Tribunal, towards those who appear to be truly sorry for their offences, by making a sincere and voluntary acknowledgment."

My confession and his exhortation being concluded and taken down in writing, they were read aloud, and signed by me; after which, the Inquisitor rang the bell for the Alcaide, to re-conduct me to my chamber.

## CHAP. XXV.

*My second and third Audiences.*

On the fifteenth of February, I was again taken before my Judge, without any solicitation on my part; which induced me to conclude that I was to be discharged. So soon as I entered the room, I was interrogated anew, if I had any thing further to say, and exhorted to conceal nothing, but to candidly confess all my sins. I answered, that after the closest consideration, I could not recollect any thing I had not previously represented. My own name, those of my father, mother, brothers, grandfathers, great grandfathers, godfathers and godmothers were required; and whether I was "*Cristam de oito dias*," (an eight-days' Christian,) —for in Portugal, children are baptized on the eighth day after the birth, and the mothers do not leave the house to go to church, until the fortieth day after their accouchement, if ever so propitious.

My Judge seemed surprised when I told him, that in France it was not the custom to defer baptism until the eighth day; but that

infants were baptized there as early as possible. From the observance of these formal ceremonies, it would seem, that notwithstanding the detestation shewn by the Portuguese towards the Jews, they themselves possess not genuine Christian principles. But this is not all the mischief:—It may often happen, that the children die without being regenerated by the sacrament of baptism, and thus be eternally excluded from heaven. For the sake of the ceremonial purification, (which ought to be considered as having been abrogated by the publication of the gospel,) the Portuguese women do not scruple to break the ordinances of the church, which command all Christians to assist at the holy sacrifice of the Mass on Sundays and Feasts, if not prevented by lawful impediments.

I was next asked what was the name of the Clergyman by whom I was baptized, and in what diocese and town; and finally, if I had been confirmed, and by what Bishop. Having satisfied these enquiries, I was ordered to kneel down, to make the sign of the Cross, to repeat the Lord's Prayer, the *Ave Maria*, the Creed, the Commandments of God and the Church, and the *Salve Regina;* when the Audience con-

cluded as before, with a conjuration, "*by the bowels of the mercy of our Lord Jesus Christ,*" to make immediate confession. This being committed to writing, read in my presence, and subscribed with my signature, I was sent away.

From the beginning of my confinement, I had been greatly distressed, and had wept incessantly; but on returning from this second Audience, I entirely abandoned myself to grief; being convinced, that what was required from me was impossible, as my memory did not furnish what I was solicited to avow. I attempted to put an end to my existence by fasting. I received, indeed, the food which was brought to me, because I could not refuse it without being liable to be beaten by the Guards, who carefully notice, when the dishes are returned, whether sufficient nourishment has been taken; but my despair enabled me to deceive all their caution. I passed several days without tasting any thing; and to prevent its being discovered, I threw part of what was given me into the close-stool. This extreme fasting deprived me of rest; and my sole employment was to weep. But during these days of anguish, I reflected on the errors of my past life, and

acknowledged the justice of God which had hurled me into this abyss of misery. I even believed that it was intended as the mean of my recal and conversion; and being somewhat revived by these thoughts, I heartily implored the aid of the Blessed Virgin, who is the consolation of the wretched, and the asylum and refuge of the sinner; and whose protection I have so often enjoyed, as well in the prison as in many other events of my life, that I cannot now repress this public testimony of my experience.

At length, having made a more particular, or rather more happy recollection of what I had said or done during my residence at Damaun, I remembered the opinions I had asserted respecting the Inquisition and its integrity. I immediately demanded audience, which however I did not obtain until the sixteenth of March.

When summoned, I had no doubt that my business would be dismissed the same day, and that after the confession I was prepared to make, I should be discharged; but at the very moment that I fancied I was on the accomplishment of all my wishes, I suddenly found

these delightful hopes destroyed; for having detailed every thing I had said about the Inquisition, I was coolly informed that that was not what was expected; and having nothing more to communicate, I was instantly remanded, without even taking my confession in writing.

## CHAP. XXVI.

*Despair impels me to suicide.*

I WAS now arrived at the most insupportable period of my captivity; for rigorous as it had hitherto been, I had at least the satisfaction of having borne it with some degree of patience, and had sought to derive advantage from my misfortunes. Religion teaches us, that the greatest calamities are real blessings to those who make a proper use of them; I must therefore ever deem that portion of my life alone infelicitous, wherein I committed sins so enormous, as not to be justified or extenuated by the cruelty of those who exacted impossibilities from me, under pain of being burnt; for no extremity can excuse despair, which is the greatest and last of evils.

I had determined to omit the mention of my despondency, and of the attempts which I made to destroy myself. But it has been suggested to me that the circumstance was material, because the inexcusable rigour of the Inquisition may probably drive many into the same state; and because it is of importance to know, not

only the extent of these evils considered in themselves, but also the shocking consequences which are but too frequent. If rational and well-educated persons, who know their duties and keep in the light of the Faith, yield under these extremities; what may not be apprehended from so many ignorant people, without instruction, principally recent converts from Paganism, whose doctrines have taught them during almost all their lives to regard despair as heroism? I acknowledge that the unpropitious issue of my last Audience, the success of which I had so fully anticipated, was an annihilating stroke; and, regarding liberty as a blessing I could never hope for, I abandoned myself so entirely to grief and despair, that I was almost distracted. I had not forgotten that self-destruction is prohibited, and had not any intention to rush into eternal ruin; but I had no wish to live, and so much desire to die, that my reason was disturbed. I imagined that I had discovered a middle course between the desperate resolution of a sudden death, and that natural termination of life for which I could not bear the thoughts of waiting; and I hoped for the divine forgiveness, if I could attain it slowly and by the ministration of another. I therefore feigned indis-

position from a feverish attack. A *Pundit*, or Pagan Physician, was introduced, who did not even take the trouble to count my pulse, and asserted that I was actually in a fever.

He ordered me to be bled five times, on five successive days; and as my design in using this remedy was far otherwise than his, (which was to restore me to health, whilst mine was to finish a miserable existence,) the instant I was left alone, I untied the bandages, and suffered the blood to flow, until it filled a pot which was capable of containing eighteen ounces. I repeated these excessive evacuations after every bleeding, and taking at the same time scarcely any nourishment, I was (as may be supposed) reduced to the most extreme debility.

The Alcaide, observing the great change in my appearance, was surprised, as well as the Pundit, at my distressing condition, from which they conceived such slender hopes of my recovery, that they were obliged to report it to the Inquisitor—who directed them to propose that I should confess myself; and, as I did not think that I could live, I began to repent of what I had done, and not wishing to lose both soul and body at once, I consented that a Confessor should be sent for. A Religious of the

order of St. Francis attended accordingly, and having fully confided to him my whole case, I received much consolation, and was induced by his excellent counsel to do every thing in my power towards the restoration of my health.

I permitted him to communicate what had occurred to the Inquisitor confidentially; and from that day, (which was Good Friday,) they carefully supplied me with every thing necessary for the speedy reparation of the strength I had lost with my blood; and to enliven the melancholy which preyed upon me, a black prisoner accused of magic, was confined along with me, and remained in my cell for five months.

During this period I was more rational, and suffered less from *ennui;* but so soon as I was thought to be convalescent, my companion was removed; and the privation of this comfort soon occasioned me to relapse into the same state in which I was before.

## CHAP. XXVII.

*Despair drives me to fresh excesses.*

THE removal of my companion made me more furious than ever. I beat my breast and face, and, not satisfied with that, I sought for means, which before I wanted sufficient resolution to use, to kill myself. I was sensible that this could not be effected by a second pretence of indisposition; which, if I had attempted in case it should have been necessary to bleed me, proper care would have been taken to prevent such effusion of blood as I had before encouraged. Inspired by despair, it occurred to me that notwithstanding the scrupulous search which I had undergone on my first imprisonment, I had secreted some pieces of gold by sewing them into a ribband, fastened round my leg below the knee like a garter. I broke one of these coins; and by friction against an earthen vessel, contrived to sharpen and point a piece in the form of a lancet, with which I determined to cut the arteries of my arm. With this view, I took every requisite precaution, and inserted it as far as I could;

but, with all my pains, I could not obtain my object, and instead of the arteries, opened only the veins above them. Being rendered quite desperate, I pierced both arms, until I fainted from weakness, and fell on the floor in my blood, which flowed into every part of the room; and assuredly, if the special providence of God had not caused my door to be opened, for the purpose of bringing me something at an unusual time, I should have miserably lost my life and soul.

The astonishment of my guards when they saw me, may be imagined. They called the *Alcaide*, and entering together they bound up my wounds, and succeeded in bringing me to myself. The circumstance being reported to the Inquisitor, he ordered me to be brought before him; I was carried by four men and laid down upon the floor, my extreme weakness preventing me from standing or sitting.

The Inquisitor bitterly reproached me, and commanded the attendants to take me away, and handcuff me in order to hinder me from tearing away the bandages, which were tied round my arms. This was instantly obeyed, and not only were my hands chained, but a

collar of iron was put on my neck and fastened to the manacles with a padlock, in such a manner that I could not even move my arms. This measure increased my irritation. I threw myself upon the ground, dashed my head against the pavement and the walls; and, had I been left in this situation, I should have certainly liberated my arms and destroyed myself; but, being watched, my actions soon evinced that all severity was unavailable, and that milder treatment would be more advisable.

My irons were taken off; the most deceitful promises were made; my chamber was changed; and another companion was given to me, who was made responsible for my safety. This was also a black prisoner, but much less civilized than the one I had before. It pleased God, who had preserved me from so great a crime, to dissipate the despair into which I had fallen, and thereby to bless me more than those who have committed suicide in the prisons of the Holy Office, where the door of all human comfort is closed upon its wretched inmates for ever. My new companion continued with me about two months. When I became rather more composed he was removed, though the languor I felt was so extreme, that it was with difficulty

I could rise to receive my meals from the door at two paces distant. After a year had thus passed, from mere dint of suffering I became as it were habituated to it, and God finally gave me patience to endure, without making any further attempt upon my life.

## CHAP. XXVIII.

*My fourth Audience, in which the Proctor pronounces sentence of death against me.*

I HAD been eighteen months in the Inquisition, when my Judges being informed that I was able to appear, caused me to be conducted to an Audience for the fourth time. They asked me if I had resolved to declare what was required; and on replying that I could not remember any thing which I had not said before, the Proctor of the Holy Office presented himself with the informations laid against me.

On my former examinations I had accused myself; they were satisfied with hearing me without entering into any explanation, and I was remanded to my cell as soon as I had finished what I had to say; but on this occasion I was formally impeached, and a time allotted for my defence. My own confessions were included in the depositions. The facts themselves were true, as I had voluntarily admitted, and in that respect I had therefore no defence; but I wished to convince my Judges that the facts were not so henious as they appeared. I represented to them, that with regard to my opinions upon

Baptism, I had not had any intention to controvert the doctrines of the church, but that the passage "*Except a man be born of water and of the spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God*," having struck me as very particular, I had requested an explanation. The Grand Inquisitor appeared to me to be surprised by the passage, which every one knows by heart, and I was astonished at his surprise. He enquired where it was to be found. I said in the gospel of St. John, chap. iii. verse 5. He called for a New Testament, turned to the passage and read it, but did not explain it to me. He seemed, however, glad to pass it over, by telling me, that it was sufficiently expounded by tradition; as not only those who have died for the sake of our Lord Jesus Christ without having been formally baptized, but also those who have been cut off in the intention of being baptized and in sorrow for their sins, are in effect considered as being baptized.

Upon the subject of Image-worship, I said that I had not asserted any thing that was not authorized by the Holy Council of Trent, and quoted the passage from the 25th Session, treating of the Invocation of Saints and of Holy Images. "The Images of Christ, of the Virgin

Mother of God, and of the other Saints, are to be kept; and that respect is due to them, and worship to be imparted, so as that by the images before which we prostrate ourselves, we should adore Christ and honour the Saints whose resemblance they bear."

My Judge seemed to be more astonished by this reference than he was by the preceding; and, having found it, closed the book without giving me any explanation.

Such ignorance in persons who are appointed to decide upon matters of Faith, is incomprehensible; and I own that I should reluctantly trust myself as to the fact, although I witnessed and perfectly recollect it, if I had not learnt from the publications of Mr. Tavernier, that, reserved as Father Ephraim de Nevers was upon every thing relating to the Inquisition, under which he suffered so much, he did intimate that nothing had been so intolerable to him as the ignorance of its ministers.

The Proctor, on reading the informations, stated, that besides what I had admitted, I was accused and fully convicted of having spoken contemptuously of the Inquisition and its Officers, and even with disrespect of the Sovereign Pontiff and against his authority; and con-

cluded, that the contumacy I had hitherto displayed, by neglecting so many delays and benignant warnings which had been given to me, was a convincing proof that I had entertained the most pernicious intentions, and that my design was to teach and inculcate heretical opinions: that I had consequently incurred the penalty of the greater Excommunication; that my property was confiscated to the crown, and myself delivered over to the secular power, to be punished for my crimes according to law, that is, to be burnt.

I leave it to my readers to imagine the effect of these cruel denunciations of the Proctor of the Holy Office upon my mind; yet I can truly aver, that, terrible as they were, the death to which I was sentenced, appeared to me to be less dreadful, than the prolongation of my slavery. The agony of spirit and contraction of heart which I felt, did not prevent me from replying to the fresh charges which had been brought against me, that as to my intentions they had never been bad, that I had ever been a true Catholic, and that all those with whom I had associated in the Indies, could testify it, and especially Father Ambrose and Father Yves, both French Capuchins who had frequently

confessed me; (— I have since learnt, that the latter was actually at Goa at the very time that I referred to him as an evidence in my favour;) —that I had even travelled sixteen leagues to keep the feast of Easter; that, had I been heretically inclined, I could easily have established myself in those parts of the Indies, where perfect liberty of conduct and speech were tolerated, and not have chosen the states of the King of Portugal for my abode; that I was so far from declaiming against the Faith, that I had often disputed with heretics in its defence; that, indeed, I remembered that I had expressed myself too freely respecting the Tribunal before which I stood, and the personages who belonged to it, but was surprised to find, that what had been so slightly treated when I acknowledged it a year and a half before, was now attributed to me as a grievous crime; that as to what related to the Pope, I did not recollect that I had ever mentioned him in the manner stated in my accusation, but if they would detail the particulars, I would speak honestly and truly to the charge.

The Inquisitor then addressing me said, that I should have time for considering the article which regarded the Holy Pontiff; but that he

was astonished at my impudence in asserting that I had confessed the charge touching the Inquisition, as he was confident I had never opened my mouth upon the subject; and that if I had made any such declaration within the period I had represented, I should not have been so long detained.

I so well remembered what I had said, and the answer I had received; I was moreover so indignant at finding myself trifled with,—that had I not been compelled to retire as soon as I had signed my examination, I could not have refrained from insulting my Judge: and if I had had strength and liberty in proportion to the courage which my anger inspired, I possibly should not have been content with opprobrious language only.

## CHAP. XXIX.

*I am frequently taken to the Audience. Various remarks upon occurrences in the Inquisition.*

I WAS summoned to three or four Audiences in less than a month afterwards, and was urged to confess what I was accused of respecting the Pope. It was even intimated, that the Proctor had found an additional proof against me, but which in fact differed in no respect from what had been before alledged. What manifestly shews that this was nothing but a falsehood invented for the purpose of extracting my sentiments, is, that any specification of what it was pretended I had advanced was refused; and it being ultimately perceived, that nothing could be drawn from me, the point was no longer pressed, and this article was not inserted in the publication of the process against me at the Act of Faith. In these latter Audiences, however, it was attempted to make me admit that my design in the facts I had avowed, was to support Heresy; but this I never would assent to, for nothing could be more remote from truth.

During the months of November and Decem-

ber, I every morning heard the cries of those to whom the torture was administered, and which was inflicted so severely, that I have seen many persons of both sexes who have been crippled by it, and, amongst others, the first companion allotted to me in my prison.

No distinctions of rank, age, or sex are attended to in this Tribunal. Every individual is treated with equal severity; and when the interest of the Inquisition requires it, all are alike tortured in almost perfect nudity.

It occurred to me, that before I entered the prisons of the Holy Office, I had heard it mentioned, that the *Auto da Fé* was usually celebrated on the first Sunday in Advent, because, in the service for that day, is read a portion of the gospel which describes the day of Judgment; and the Inquisitors affect that this ceremony is its lively and natural prototype. I was also confident that there were several prisoners; the dead silence which reigns in this mansion having afforded me opportunity to ascertain, with tolerable exactness, how many doors were opened at the hours of repast. In addition to this, I was almost certain that an Archbishop had arrived in the month of October, (the see having been vacant nearly thirty years,)

from the extraordinary ringing of the bells of the cathedral for nine days successively; to which period, it is neither the custom of the churches in general, nor of that of Goa in particular, to extend the solemnization of any remarkable feast; and I knew that this Prelate had been expected before my imprisonment.

From all these reasons I inferred that I should be released in the beginning of December; but when I saw the first and the second Sundays in Advent pass, I began to fear that my liberation or punishment was postponed for another year.

## CHAP. XXX.

*By what means I discovered that the* Auto da Fé *was to be performed on the ensuing day; and the description of the dresses given to the prisoners for their appearance at that ceremony.*

Having persuaded myself that the *Auto da Fé* was always celebrated in the beginning of December, and not observing any preparations for the awful ceremony, I reconciled myself to another year of suffering; but when I the least expected it, I was on the eve of quitting the cruel captivity in which I had languished for two years. I remarked, that on Saturday the eleventh of January, 1676, as I gave my linen as usual to be washed, the Officers declined taking it till the next day. On reflecting upon this unusual circumstance, and not being able satisfactorily to account for it, I concluded that the celebration of the *Auto da Fé* might take place on the morrow; and my opinion was the more confirmed, or rather converted into certainty, when, immediately after vespers had chimed at the cathedral, the bell rang for matins, which had never happened before during

my imprisonment, except on the eve of the Feast of the Holy Sacrament, which is celebrated in the Indies on the Thursday following the Sunday after Easter, on account of the incessant rains which fall there at the period when it is solemnized in Europe. It may be supposed that joy would have begun to resume its place in my heart, when I believed that I was on the point of leaving the tomb in which I had been buried alive for two years; but the terror which was occasioned by the dreadful denunciations of the Proctor, and the uncertainty of my fate, augmented my anxiety and grief to such a degree, that I passed the remainder of the day and part of the night under feelings which would have excited compassion from any but those into whose hands I had fallen.

When supper was brought to me, I refused it; and because, contrary to custom, I was not entreated to receive it, when the door was shut I gave way entirely to the melancholy which possessed me; but, after many sighs and tears, overpowered by vexation and deathly images, I dropped asleep about eleven o'clock.

I had not slept long before I was awoke by a noise occasioned by the guards in drawing back the bolts of my cell. I was surprised

by the approach of persons bearing lights, to which I was unaccustomed, and the hour contributed to encrease my alarm.

The *Alcaide* gave me a garment, which he ordered me to put on, and to be ready to follow him when he should call for me; and then retired, leaving me a lighted lamp. I had neither power to rise nor to reply; and when left alone, I was seized with so general and violent a trepidation, that, for more than a quarter of an hour, I could not summon resolution even to look upon the dress which had been brought. At last I arose, and prostrating myself before a cross which I had scrawled upon the wall, I recommended myself to God, and resigned my lot into his hands: I then put on the dress, which consisted of a jacket with sleeves down to the wrists, and trowsers hanging over the heels; both being of black stuff with white stripes.

## CHAP. XXXI.

*The preparations for the Act of Faith, and the various marks of distinction given to the prisoners, according to their degrees of criminality.*

I HAD not long to wait after I had dressed myself. The gentlemen whose first visit was made a little before midnight, returned about two in the morning, and conducted me into a long gallery, where a great number of my companions in misery were already assembled, and arranged against the wall. I took my place in the rank, and many others arrived after me. Although there were nearly two hundred men in the gallery, every one preserved profound silence; as in this great number, there were only about a dozen Whites, who were scarcely to be distinguished amongst the others; and as all were habited in black, these persons might have been mistaken for so many statues placed upon the wall, if the motion of their eyes, the use of which alone was allowed them, had not shewn that they were alive.

The place in which we were was lighted by a few lamps, whose gloomy rays displaying so

many black, sad, and devoted objects, seemed an appropriate prelude to death.

The women, who were apparelled in the same stuff as the men, were in an adjoining gallery, where we could not see them; but I observed that in a Dormitory at a little distance from that in which we stood, there were also several prisoners, and some persons clothed in black dresses, who occasionally walked about the apartment. I did not then know what this meant, but a few hours after I learnt that the persons in that apartment were condemned to be burnt, and that those who walked were their Confessors.

Being unacquainted with the forms of the Holy Office, although I had before so anxiously wished to die, I imagined that I was amongst the number of the condemned; but was somewhat encouraged by the observation, that there was nothing in my habiliments different from the rest, and that it was improbable that so many persons as were dressed like myself would be put to death.

When we were all arranged against the wall of the gallery, a yellow wax-light was given to each; and some bundles of robes made like Dalmatics or large Scapularies were brought in.

These were made of yellow stuff, with crosses of St. Andrew painted in red both in front and behind. It is thus that those are distinguished who have committed, or are adjudged to have committed, offences against the Christian Faith, whether Jews, Mahometans, Sorcerers, or Heretic Apostates. These vestments are called *Sambenito.*

Such as are considered as convicted, and persist in denying the charges against them, and those who have relapsed, wear another kind of Scapulary called *Samarra*, the ground of which is of a grey colour. A portrait of the wearer is depicted on both sides, placed on burning firebrands, with ascending flames, and surrounded by demons. Their names and crimes are inscribed beneath the picture. Those who have confessed after sentence has been pronounced and before leaving the prison, have the flames on their *Samarras* reversed, which is called *Fogo revolto*, The Sambenitos were distributed to twenty Blacks accused of Magic, to one Portuguese who was charged with the same crime, and was moreover a *New Christian*, and, as half measures would not satisfy the revenge of my persecutors, who were resolved to degrade me as much as possible, I was

compelled to wear a garb similar to those of the Sorcerers and Heretics, although I had uniformly professed the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman Faith, as my Judges might have been easily informed by many persons, both foreigners and my own countrymen, to whom I had been known in various parts of India. My apprehension now redoubled; conceiving that if, amongst so great a number of prisoners, twenty-two only received these disgraceful Sambenitos, they must be those to whom no mercy was intended.

When this distribution was made, I noticed five pasteboard caps, tapering to a point like a sugar loaf, and entirely covered with devils and flames of fire, with the word "*Feiticero,*" (Sorcerer) written round the fillet. These caps are called, *Carochas*, and are placed upon the heads of the most guilty of those accused of Magic; and as they happened to be near me, I expected to be presented with one. This, however, was not the case. From that moment, I had no doubt that these wretches would indeed be burnt; and as they were as ignorant as myself of the forms of the Holy Office, they assured me afterwards, that they themselves had also thought their destruction inevitable.

Every one being thus accoutred according to the character of his offence, we were allowed to sit down upon the floor, in expectation of fresh orders.

At four in the morning, some domestics followed the guards in order to distribute bread and figs to such as chose to partake of them; but, though I had taken no supper the preceding night, I was not disposed to eat, and should not have taken any thing, if one of the guards had not come up to me and said, "Take your bread, and if you cannot eat it now, put it in your pocket, for you will be hungry before you come back." These words afforded me infinite satisfaction, and dissipated all my terror by the hope which they inspired of my return; and I took his advice.

At length the day dawned about five o'clock; and the various emotions of shame, grief, and terror with which all were agitated, might be traced in our countenances; for, though each was joyful at the prospect of deliverance from a captivity so severe and insupportable, the sentiment was much alloyed by the uncertainty of his fate.

## CHAP. XXXII.

*The order of procession to the Act of Faith.*

The great bell of the cathedral tolled a little before sun-rise as a signal to the multitude to assemble for the august solemnity of the *Auto da Fé*, which is the triumph of the Holy Office; and we were then commanded to go forth one by one. In passing from the gallery to the great hall, I remarked that the Inquisitor was seated at the door and a Secretary standing near him; that the hall was filled by the inhabitants of Goa, whose names were entered in a list which he held; and that as each prisoner came out of the gallery, he called for one of the gentlemen in the hall, who immediately advanced to the prisoner to accompany him, and act as his godfather at the Act of Faith.

These godfathers have the charge of the persons they attend, and are obliged to answer for, and represent them until the Feast is concluded; and Messrs. the Inquisitors affect to consider them as much honoured by the appointment. My godfather was the General of the Portuguese ships in the Indies. I went out with him, and

when I got into the street, I saw that the procession was headed by the community of the Dominicans, who have this privilege because St. Dominic, their patron, was also the founder of the Inquisition. They were preceded by the banner of the Holy Office, in which the image of the founder was represented in very rich embroidery, with a sword in one hand and an olive branch in the other, with the inscription, "*Justitia & Misericordia.*"

These Religious were followed by the prisoners singly, each holding a taper, and having his godfather by his side. The least guilty marched first, and, as I was not reckoned as one of the most innocent, more than a hundred went before me. Like the rest, my head and feet were bare, and I was greatly annoyed during the procession, which continued upwards of an hour, by the small flints, with which the streets of Goa are covered; causing the blood to stream from my feet.

We were led through the principal streets, and every where regarded by an immense crowd, which came from all parts of India, and lined all the roads by which we passed; notice having been given from the pulpit in the most distant parishes, long before the Act of Faith was to be celebrated.

At length, overwhelmed with shame and confusion, and fatigued by the walk, we arrived at the church of St. Francis, which had been previously fitted up for the celebration of the *Auto da-Fé.* The high altar was hung with black, and six silver candlesticks with tapers of white wax were burning upon it. Two seats resembling thrones were erected, one on each side of the altar; that on the right being destined for the Inquisitor and his Council, and the other for the Viceroy and his Court. At some distance, opposite the high altar, and nearer to the entrance, was another altar, with ten missals laid open upon it; and from thence to the door, a passage about three feet in width was railed in; and on each side, benches were placed for the culprits and their godfathers, who sat down in the order in which they entered the church; so that the first were nearest the altar. So soon as I was seated, I attended to the procedure observed as to those who followed me; I remarked that those to whom the horrible *Carochas* had been given, marched the last of our party, and immediately after them a large crucifix was carried, with the face towards those who preceded it, and was followed by two persons and the statues of four others, as large as life, accurately executed, and which were placed upon

long poles, accompanied by the same number of chests filled with the bones of those represented by the statues, and each carried by a man. The front of the crucifix being turned upon those who walked before, signified that mercy had been extended to them, by their deliverance from the death they had justly merited; and, on the contrary, that those behind had no favour to hope for. Such is the mystery which pervades every thing in the Holy Office!

The manner in which these wretches were clothed, was equally calculated to excite horror and pity. Not only the living persons, but the statues also, had each a *Samara* of grey stuff, painted all over with devils, flames, and burning fire-brands; upon which, the portrait of the wearer was naturally represented on both sides, with his sentence under-written in large characters, briefly stating his name and country, and the nature of the crime for which he was condemned. With this strange garment, they also wore those frightful *Carochas*, covered, like the robe, with demons and fire.

The little chests which enclosed the bones of the deceased, the proceedings against whom had been conducted either before or after their deaths, or prior to, or pending their im-

prisonment, for the purpose of giving colour to the confiscation of their property, were also painted black, and covered with flames and devils.

It is here necessary to mention, that the jurisdiction of the Inquisition is not limited to the living, or to those who have died in prison; but processes are often instituted against persons who have been dead many years before their accusation. When any important charge is preferred against a person deceased, his body is taken out of his tomb, and, on conviction, consumed at the Act of Faith; his estates are seized, and those who may have taken possession compelled to refund. I state nothing but what I have witnessed; for one of the statues produced on this occasion represented a man who had died a long time before; against whom a process had been instituted, his remains disinterred, his effects confiscated, and his bones (or perhaps those of some other person who had been buried in the same place) burnt.

## CHAP. XXXIII.

*Containing an account of the transactions at the place where the* Auto da Fé *was celebrated.*

These wretches having entered in the funereal equipage I have described, and being seated in the places appointed for them near the door of the church; the Inquisitor, attended by his Officers, came in, and placed himself upon the throne, prepared for him on the right of the altar; whilst the Viceroy and his Court took possession of that on the left. The crucifix was laid upon the altar, between the six candles, and every one being stationed at his post, the church was filled by the crowd. The Provincial of the Augustins ascended the pulpit, and preached for half an hour; and, notwithstanding the embarrassment and mental uneasiness which I felt, I could not help noticing the comparison which he drew between the Inquisition and Noah's Ark; in which, however, he marked this distinction, that the creatures which entered the Ark, left it on the cessation of the deluge with their original nature and properties; whereas

the Inquisition had this singular characteristic, that those who came within its walls, cruel as wolves and fierce as lions, went forth gentle as lambs.

On the conclusion of the sermon, two Readers alternately appeared in the pulpit to declare aloud the accusations, and announce the punishments to which the criminals were sentenced.

As the publication of the proceedings against each party commenced, he was conducted by the *Alcaide* into the middle of the Aisle, where he continued standing with a lighted taper in his hand, until his sentence was delivered; and, as it is presumed that all the criminals have incurred the penalty of the greater Excommunication, when this was done, he was led up to the altar where the missals were placed; upon one of which, after kneeling down, he was directed to lay his hands, in which posture he remained, until there were as many persons as books. The Reader then discontinued the proceedings, and in an audible manner pronounced a confession of Faith, which the criminals were previously bidden to repeat after him, with heart and voice; and at the end of

which, each returned to his station, and the reading was resumed.

I was summoned in my turn, and found that the charge against me involved three points; one of which was, the having maintained the inefficacy of the Baptism *Flaminis;* another, having asserted that Images ought not to be worshipped, and having blasphemed against the representation of a crucifix in ivory, by saying that it was a piece of ivory; and the last, that I had spoken contemptuously of the Inquisition and its Ministers—but above all, the bad intention from which I had uttered these things. For these offences I was declared Excommunicate, and, by way of atonement, my goods were forfeited to the King, and myself banished from the Indies, and condemned to serve in the galleys of Portugal for five years; and moreover to perform such other penances, as might be expressly enjoined by the Inquisitors.

Of all these punishments, that which appeared to me the heaviest, was the indispensable necessity of quitting India, in which I had intended to travel for some time; but this disappointment was in some measure compensated by the prospect of being soon delivered from the hands of the Holy Office.

My confession of Faith being finished, I returned to my place, and then availed myself of the hint which had been given me by the guard, to keep my bread; for the ceremony having lasted the whole day, every one present ate something in the church.

## CHAP. XXXIV.

*The prisoners are absolved, and those sentenced to the stake delivered over to the secular power. The ceremonies observed on this occasion.*

When the causes of those, to whom mercy was extended by the boon of their lives, were concluded, the Inquisitor left his seat, to assume the Alb and Stole; and attended by about twenty Priests, each bearing a wand, came into the centre of the church; where, after several prayers had been read, we were severally released from Excommunication, (which it was stated we had incurred) by a stroke from the Priests on our clothes.

I cannot resist mentioning a circumstance, which will shew the excessive superstition of the Portuguese in matters relating to the Inquisition. During the procession, and whilst we remained in the church, the person who was my godfather, (though I frequently addressed him,) would not speak to me, and even refused me a pinch of snuff which I requested; so apprehensive was he, that in so doing, he should

participate in the censure under which he conceived me to lie; but the moment I received absolution, he embraced me, presented his snuff-box, and told me that thenceforth he should regard me as a brother, since the church had absolved me.

This ceremony being concluded, and the Inquisitor re-seated, the wretched victims to be sacrificed by the Holy Inquisition were ordered to advance separately. There were a man and a woman, and the images of four men deceased, with the chests in which their bones were deposited. The man and woman were black native Christians accused of magic, and condemned as Apostates; but, in truth, as little Sorcerers as those by whom they were condemned.

Two of the four statues also, represented persons convicted of magic; and the others, two new Christians, who were said to have Judaised. One of these had died in the prisons of the Holy Office; the other expired in his own house, and his body had been long since interred in his parish church; but having been accused of Judaism after his decease, as he had left considerable wealth, his tomb was opened, and his remains disinterred to be burnt at the *Auto da Fé*; whence it may be inferred, that

the Holy Inquisition affects, in imitation of our Saviour, to exercise its power on the quick and the dead.

The proceedings against these unfortunates were then read, all of which concluded in these terms: "that the mercy of the Holy Office being prevented by their relapse or contumacy, and being indispensably obliged to punish them according to the rigour of the law, it gave them up to the secular power and civil justice, which it nevertheless entreated to regard with mercy and clemency these miserable creatures, and if they were liable to capital punishment, that it should be inflicted without effusion of blood."

At the conclusion of these words, a Tipstaff of the Lay Court approached, and seized his victims, each previously receiving a slight blow on the breast from the *Alcaide* of the Holy Office, to testify that they were abandoned.

How benevolent is the Inquisition, thus to intercede for the guilty! What extreme condescension in the magistrates, to be satisfied, from complaisance to the Inquisition, with burning the culprits to the very marrow of their bones, rather than shed their blood!

Thus terminated the Act of Faith; and

whilst these wretches were conveyed to the banks of the river, where the Viceroy and his Court were assembled, and where the faggots on which they were to be immolated had been piled the preceding day, we were re-conducted to the Inquisition by our godfathers, without any order of procession.

Although I have never been present at an execution of persons abandoned in this manner by the Holy Office, yet having had authentic accounts from persons who have witnessed many such occasions, I will relate, in a few words, the formalities which are observed.

So soon as the condemned arrive at the place where the Lay Judges are assembled, they are asked in what religion they wish to die; without referring in any manner to the proceedings against them, which are presumed to have been perfectly correct, and the prisoners justly condemned, the infallibility of the Inquisition being never questioned. Upon this question being answered, the executioner lays hold of them, and binds them to the stake, where they are previously strangled if they die Christians, and burnt alive if they persist in Judaism or Heresy, which so seldom happens that scarcely one

instance has been known in four Acts of Faith, though few have passed without a great number having been burnt.

The day after the execution, the pictures of those who have been put to death are carried through the Dominican churches. The heads alone are represented, laid on burning fire brands. Their names are inscribed beneath, with those of their father and country, the description of the crime for which they are condemned, and the year, month, and day of their execution. If the party has fallen twice into the same offence, these words are added to the foot of the portrait, "*Morreo queimado, por Hereje relapso*" (he was burnt as a relapsed Heretic.)—If, having been accused but once, he persists in error, it is altered to—"*por Hereje contumos;*" but as this case rarely happens, there are not many pictures with this inscription. Again, if having been accused but once by a sufficient number of witnesses, he perseveres in asserting his innocency, and even professes himself a Christian to the last, it is stated "*Morreo queimado, por Hereje convitto negativo,*" (that is, he was burnt for a convicted Heretic, but without confession;) and of these, there are a great many. It is certain that of a hundred *negativos*, ninety-

nine at the least are not only innocent of the crime which they deny, but, besides their innocence, have the further merit of preferring death to the falsehood of acknowledging themselves guilty of a crime of which they are incapable; for it is not possible that a man assured of his life if he confesses, should persist in denying, and chuse to be burnt rather than avow, a fact, the confession of which would save his life.

These frightful figures are placed in the nave and above the grand entrance of the church, as so many illustrious trophies consecrated to the glory of the Holy Office; and when this part is full, they are arranged in the aisles near the door. Those who have been in the great church of the Dominicans, at Lisbon, may have observed several hundreds of these affecting representations.

## CHAP. XXXV.

*My final departure from the Inquisition. We are conducted to a private house to receive instruction for some days.*

I WAS so fatigued and so exhausted at my return from the Act of Faith, that I felt not less eagerness to re-enter my cell in order to rest myself, than I had some days before expressed to leave it. My godfather accompanied me into the hall, and the *Alcaide* having conducted me into the gallery, I hastened to shut myself up, whilst he attended the rest. I threw myself upon my bed, in expectation of supper, which was nothing but bread and some figs, the bustle of the day having impeded the business of the kitchen. I slept better than I had done for many nights preceding, but so soon as it was light, I waited impatiently what was to be done with me. The *Alcaide* came about six o'clock for the dress I had worn during the procession, which I cheerfully relinquished, and, at the same time, wished to give him the *sambenito*, but he would not receive it, as I was to wear it every Sunday and

Holiday until the entire accomplishment of my sentence. Breakfast was brought about seven o'clock, and soon after I was directed to collect my clothes together, and to be ready to go when I should be called for.

I obeyed this last order with the utmost promptitude. About nine, a guard opened my door; I took up my bundle upon my back, as I was directed, and followed him to the great hall, where the greater part of the prisoners were already assembled.

After remaining there some time, about twenty of my companions, who had been sentenced the day before to be whipped, and were now brought for the purpose of receiving the infliction from the hands of the hangman through all the streets of the town, entered; and being thus collected, the Inquisitor appeared, before whom we knelt to receive his benediction, kissing the ground at his feet. The Blacks, who had few clothes, were then ordered to take up those of the Whites. Such of the prisoners as were not Christians were instantly sent to the places prescribed by their sentences; some into exile, and others to the galleys, or the powder manufactory, called "*Casa da Pulvera;*" and such as were Chris-

tians, as well Blacks as Whites, were conducted to a house expressly hired for them in the city for some time, for the purpose of receiving instruction. The halls and passages of the house were appropriated for the lodging of the Blacks; and we that were Whites, were placed in a separate chamber, in which we were locked up during the night, having the range of the house in the day time, with liberty to converse with those who came to see us. Every day there were two catechisings; one for the Blacks, and another for the Whites; and Mass was regularly performed, at which we all assisted, as also at Matins and Vespers.

During my abode in this place, I was visited by a Dominican monk, one of the friends I had known at Damaun, where he had been a Prior. This excellent priest, oppressed with age and infirmities, no sooner knew that I was liberated, than he hired a palanquin to come to see me. He lamented my disaster, embracing me tenderly, and assuring me that he had had many fears for me; that he had often enquired after my health and the state of my affairs, from the Father, Agent for the prisoners, who was his friend, and of the same order as himself, but notwithstanding he had been long without ob-

taining a satisfactory answer; and that, at last, after much entreaty, all that he could learn was that I was alive.

I derived much consolation from the visits of this Religious, and my being obliged to leave the Indies was equally distressing to us both. He had the goodness to come to me repeatedly; urged me to return to India when I was at liberty; and sent me several things for the voyage, which my condition and necessities precluded the hope of procuring.

## CHAP. XXXVI.

*I am reconducted to the Inquisition, to hear the Penances imposed upon me.*

After remaining in this house until the 23d of January, we were then conveyed to the hall of the Inquisition, and thence separately summoned to the Board of the Holy Office, to receive from the Inquisitor a paper containing the penances to which he was pleased to sentence us. I went in my turn, and was directed to kneel down, after laying my hands upon the Gospels, and in that posture to promise to preserve the most inviolable secrecy concerning all that had passed and had come to my knowledge during my detention. My Judge then gave me a writing signed by his hand, expressing what I was to perform; and as this document is not long, I conceive that it is best to transcribe it, as accurately translated from the Portuguese.

*List of Penances to be observed by* ——.

1st. In the three ensuing years he shall confess and communicate;—during the first year,

once a month;—and the two following, at the feasts of Easter, Whitsuntide, Christmas, and the Assumption of our Lady.

2d. He shall, if practicable, hear Mass and a Sermon every Sunday and Holiday.

3d. During the first three years he shall repeat, five times every day, the Lord's Prayer and Ave Maria, in honour of the five wounds of our Saviour.

4th. He shall not form any friendship nor particular intimacy with Heretics or persons holding suspicious doctrines, which may prejudice his salvation.

5th and lastly, He shall be inflexibly reserved as to every thing which he has seen, said, or heard, or the treatment which has been observed towards him, as well at the Board as in the other places of the Holy Office.

FRANCISCO DELGADO E. MATOS.

Who can say, on perusing these penitentiary canons, that the Inquisition is too rigorous? On receiving this paper, I kissed the ground, and retired into the hall, to wait until the rest had gone through the like formality. On departing, we were separated, and I know not what became of the remainder of the company;

but about a dozen of us only were taken to the *Aljouvar*, the official prison in which I had been confined for one day on my arrival at Goa before my entrance into the Inquisition. Here I continued until the 25th, when an officer of the Holy Office came to carry me in irons on board of a vessel which was ready to sail for Portugal.

## CHAP. XXXVII.

*Remarks upon the preceding account.*

I SHALL interrupt the recital of my adventures, by making some reflections on what I have already stated; and begin by an examination of the injustice I have sustained from the Inquisition.

The first instance, is the treachery of the Commissary of Damaun; who, after I had declared to him what I had said regarding the Holy Office, gave me such hypocritical counsel, and caused me to be arrested to gratify the resentment of the governor; although the practice of the Inquisition is, to leave those who have spontaneously accused themselves at large. I am aware of what this father has said in his vindication, that I had not made my accusation in form; but that was a defect of which he ought to have apprised me: I was young and a foreigner, and should have instantly complied with it—but this paltry pretext was necessary to satisfy the governor.

The next thing, of which, I think, I have cause to complain, is with reference to the same

Commissary, I mean his maliciously detaining me at Damaun until the month of January, instead of sending me to Goa immediately after my imprisonment. Had he done so, my business would have been investigated before the end of November, and I should have been released at the Act of Faith which was celebrated that year in the beginning of December; but not having been transferred till after the Act of Faith, it was owing to him that I remained in the prisons of the Holy Office two years longer than I ought; because few are discharged, except at the funereal ceremony, called the *Auto da Fé;* which occurring but once in two or three years, it is an aggravation of the misfortune to be cast into the sacred cells immediately after they have been cleared, and to remain there until a sufficient number of prisoners is collected to perform the Act of Faith with greater eclat.

The refusal of the Inquisitor at my third audience, to take my confession of what I had advanced against the Inquisition; and the falsehood of the assertion which he dared to make long afterwards, that I had not declared the fact which was charged upon me as so heinous an offence, was one of the things which afflicted

me the most during my confinement, and is not the least subject of my grievances.

I may also justly complain, that the Inquisitor wished to lay a new snare for me, when on confessing my opinions concerning the Holy Office, and the circumstance which had long before happened to Father Ephraim de Nevers, he asked me, " if I defended the errors of that priest;" but though I well knew that the innocence of the Father had been fully established, and that he had been arrested from invidious motives, I replied " that I did not pretend to defend any one, having enough to do to defend myself."

I think too, that I am justified in believing that I was sent into Portugal, for the express purpose of pleasing the Viceroy and the Governor of Damaun who was his relation; as out of upwards of two hundred persons who left the Inquisition when I did, I was the only one compelled to leave the Indies for Europe.

The cruelty of the guards, by whom I was often maltreated both by words and deeds, in order to force me to receive food and medicine when I was indisposed, deserves, in my opinion, to be noticed; for though they have some pretence for obliging the prisoners to take nou-

rishment and remedies, they surely ought to use the same means only which are resorted to for other invalids, to whom stripes and blows are never administered to make them drink broths and physic.

I cannot refrain from objecting to the title of *Holy* assumed by the Inquisition. It is indeed difficult to apprehend wherein its sanctity consists; and in what manner a Tribunal, which violates the sacred laws of Charity, and the ordinances of Jesus Christ and the Church, can be termed Holy. Our Lord commands Christians to reprove those who fall, charitably and privately; and it is not until after many warnings have been despised, and they have become incorrigible, that he wishes them to be denounced to the church, in order that this Holy Mother may, by her authority, make a final effort to bring back her rebellious children to their duty by the imposition of penances, and, if necessary, even by the thunders of Excommunication; without, however, depriving them of some spiritual aid, such as the word of God and good books, by means of which, they may be cured of their estrangement. But the Holy Inquisition, in a course of conduct wholly opposite, enjoins all those who acknowledge its

authority, not only under pain of Excommunication, but also under corporal and most cruel penalties, to denounce at once and without notice, those whom they may have seen commit, or have heard to say any thing contrary to its institutions; and to caution those who err either before or after their denunciation, would not be a less offence, nor would escape with a slighter punishment in this Tribunal, than to neglect making the declaration within the limited period.

Was there ever any conduct so unjust as to shut up Christian people for many years in a narrow prison without books, (since even the Breviary is not allowed to priests;) without any exhortation to encourage them to suffer patiently; without hearing Mass, either on Holy-days or Sundays; without administering the Eucharist, even at Easter, which all Christians are compelled to receive under danger of committing a mortal sin; and without being strengthened by the holy viaticum and extreme unction, at the hour of death? Who can conceive a conduct so astonishing, and so contrary to Christian charity? In lay jurisdictions, if the criminals are ever so wicked and loaded with guilt, they assist at Mass, and have the privi-

lege of reading pious works, calculated to inspire them with repentant thoughts; those who have a right to the Breviary, are permitted to repeat it and perform their duty; such priests and religious persons as will take the trouble, are allowed to visit them in their dungeons, to comfort or confess them; they communicate not only at Easter, but also as often as they are disposed; and, when sick, the last sacraments are not withheld from them. Wherefore, then, in the Holy Office, an Ecclesiastical Tribunal, (the sole principle of which should be to cultivate sentiments of benevolence and mercy,) are the Judges so obdurate and unfeeling, as not only to deprive of all human consolation, those whom misfortune has thrown into their power, but to study with the utmost anxiety, to withdraw from these poor wretches the very means which God has chosen for the participation of his grace?

I appeal to the gentlemen of the Holy Office, for the truth of what I have stated; and if it be true, my readers will determine what right the Inquisition has to be called Holy.

I shall only add, that though the Inquisition sometimes grants safe-conduct to such as are in a place of security, but wish to come to make their

voluntary accusations; it is, however, prudent not to rely upon them entirely. This Tribunal is not too scrupulous in breaking its word; and when it pleases, it can find sufficient excuse for not observing it, as I shall prove by an instance.

I knew a Religious of the order of St. Dominic, called Father Hyacinth, at Surat; who for many years had renounced his convent and his habit, living in a very dissolute and scandalous manner. A woman with whom he cohabited, and who had borne him several children, died. The loss affected him, and induced him to think of changing his course of life. He resolved to return to his convent at Basseen; but because all the Portuguese, and particularly Priests and Religious, who have resided much amongst the Indians, are obliged on returning to the states under the dominion of the Portuguese, to present themselves to the Inquisition, and make an exact declaration of their mode of life, in order to avoid being arrested, this Religious, whose conscience, perhaps, reproached him with some matter relative to the Holy Office, wrote before he left Surat, to the Inquisitor at Goa for a safe-conduct, that he might go thither to prefer his own accusation, which was instantly granted.

He departed upon this feeble assurance, and went to Basseen, where he was not suffered to resume his religious habit, until he was previously absolved by the Inquisition; for which purpose he went to Goa, and presented himself at the Board of the Holy Office, to which he was summoned various times, and after being strictly examined, received absolution, and was sent back to the Vicar General of his Order, who restored his habit, and reinstated him in the functions of Preacher and Confessor. He then supposed the business to be settled, and prepared to return to Basseen, where his convent was established; but when on the point of embarking in a galliot, to the great surprise of his friends he was taken up and thrown into the prisons of the Holy Office; whose ministers had granted him absolution with so much facility, that they might strike their blow with more effect. In fact, the poor Friar, deceived by this fictitious and dissembled pardon, had caused property of considerable value, which he had acquired during his residence at Surat, to be brought to him. All was confiscated by the Inquisition, which could not have been effected without the manœuvre of pledging to this unfortunate Priest, a promise

the performance of which was never intended; and that the Inquisitors might not be charged with having violated their safe-conduct, they artfully circulated a report, that since his absolution they had discovered other crimes which he had not confessed.

This Priest, who was imprisoned a few days after I was, remained there when I left the prison, for he did not appear at the Act of Faith; nor was his process read, which would not have been omitted had he died in the Inquisition; so that he probably continued until the ensuing Act.

This circumstance was told me by a Religious of the same order, who visited me after my release; and the example ought to convince travellers and residents in the countries where the Inquisition is established, to be not merely circumspect in their words and actions, but not even to trust the assurances and safe-conduct which the Inquisitors or their Commissaries may propose to give them, how trifling soever may be the apparent cause of suspicion.

## CHAP. XXXVIII.

*History of Joseph Pereira de Maneses.*

As examples afford the best instruction, I shall briefly relate what happened to one of the first men in Goa, Joseph de Pereira de Maneses. Being captain general of the fleets of the King of Portugal in the Indies, he was ordered by the governor to sail with a fleet to relieve Diu, which was besieged by the Arabs. He departed, and having reached Basseen, was detained there longer than he wished by contrary winds; during which time the Arabs took Diu, sacked it, and returned loaden with booty before the succours arrived. The general, who came too late, gave his directions and went back to Goa, where, as soon as he landed, the governor, Antonio de Mello de Castro, and the declared enemy of Joseph Pereira, caused him to be arrested, and charged him with having purposely stopped at Basseen to avoid fighting, and thus, by his cowardice and negligence, contributed to the destruction and pillage of Diu, for the relief of which he had been dispatched: and as neither the go-

vernors, nor even the Viceroy himself, can cause a person of rank to be arrested without an express order from the court of Portugal, Antonio de Mello being unable to put his enemy to death, sentenced him to a punishment still more cruel, viz. to be led through the streets of the city by the hangman, with a cord tied round his neck, a distaff in his hand, preceded by a herald proclaiming that this was done by the royal order, the criminal having been attainted and convicted of cowardice and treason.

This severe sentence was executed, notwithstanding the solicitations of the prisoner's friends; and after being conducted in this disgraceful manner along the thoroughfares of Goa, no sooner had he re-entered his prison, than a Familiar of the Holy Office took him to the Inquisition.

This event surprised every one; it being well known that Joseph Pereira could not be accused of Judaism, as he was not a New Christian, and had always lived in a reputable manner. The approaching Act of Faith was impatiently awaited, for ascertaining the cause of his imprisonment and the issue of the affair; but though the celebration occurred at the

conclusion of the year, he did not appear, nor was his cause notified, which encreased the general astonishment.

It should be premised that Joseph de Pereira had some time before had a difference with a gentleman of his acquaintance, but to whom he had been reconciled. This false friend, who never lost sight of his revenge, bribed five of Pereira's domestics to accuse him at the Inquisition of sodomy, and cited them as witnesses to his having committed the fact with a page; upon which both were arrested. The page being possessed of less firmness than his master, who he knew was in the prisons of the Holy Office, as well as himself, and not doubting that he was charged with the same crime of which the Proctor had declared himself guilty, intimidated by the menaces of the Inquisitors, afraid of being burnt, (as he certainly would have been had he persisted in denial,) and seeing no other means of saving his life, confessed that he was guilty of an offence which he had not committed, and thus became the seventh witness against his master; the accuser, by the rules of the Inquisition, being accounted one. His confession preserved him,

and at the next Act of Faith he was dismissed with a sentence of banishment to Mosambique.

In the mean time Pereira continued to assert his innocence. He was condemned to the stake, and would have been burnt at the same Act of Faith in which his page appeared, if the repeated protestations which he made of his innocence, and the personal regard which his Judges had uniformly felt toward him, had not induced them to defer the execution of the sentence, in order to see if they could not extort his confession, or receive further information on the subject. He was therefore reserved for another Act of Faith, which was celebrated the ensuing year, in consequence of the prisons having been filled sooner than usual.

In the course of the year, the accuser and the witnesses were several times examined; and one of the Judges taking it into his head to interrogate them apart, whether the moon shone or not on the night when they said they had seen their master perpetrate the crime, their answers varied. Upon which they were put to the torture, and retracted all that they had advanced against their master, whose innocence being thus acknowledged, those who had ap-

peared against him were taken into custody. Pereira was discharged at the first Act of Faith as acquitted, and the witnesses and the accuser were produced at the same Act with myself. The first were condemned to the galleys for five years, and the gentleman transported for nine years to the coast of Africa.

It may be presumed, that if the witnesses had been confronted, the Inquisitors would not have fallen into this embarrassment, nor the accused into the risk of being immolated by the Holy Office to the anger and resentment of his enemy; who ought, as I think, along with his accomplices, to have been punished by the same mode of death, to which this innocent gentleman was devoted; and there is no doubt that this ill-timed clemency of the Inquisition but too frequently gives occasion to similar attempts.

## CHAP. XXXIX.

*Circumstances relating to other Persons who were discharged with me at the Act of Faith.*

Two young married gentlemen in the vicinity of Basseen, who were in the Portuguese navy, protected a soldier of that nation who had rendered them some service. These gentlemen being at Goa after a cruise, and desirous of passing the rainy season (which in India is called winter) at home, left this young soldier at Goa, where he pretended to have some business to transact, to follow them in a few days. Immediately upon their departure he married, left Goa within two days, and returned to Basseen a few days after his masters. Soon afterwards, an advantageous match being offered to him, he embraced it, and married a second time. To enable him to do so he prevailed upon these gentlemen to certify to the Curate that he was a bachelor; which they did in perfect ignorance of his marriage. In a short time after this he went to Goa to visit his first wife, and was followed thither by the brother of his second; who on hearing of his former marriage,

denounced him to the Inquisition. He was arrested, and on ascertaining by whom his being an unmarried man had been attested, an order was sent to the Commissary of Basseen to seize them. These two gentlemen, more unfortunate than culpable, were conveyed to Goa in irons, and thrown into the prisons of the Holy Office, were they remained eighteen months. They appeared at the Act of Faith, and were condemned to an exile of three years on the coast of Africa. The bigamist was banished to the same place for seven years, on the expiration of which he was to return to his first wife. The pedigree of one of these gentlemen had the blemish of *Christam Novo;* and as persons so circumstanced are always suspected of being bad Christians, he was asked at the Audience if he was not a Jew, and conversant with the Mosaic law. Astonished by these questions, apprehensive lest the misfortune of his birth should involve him in distress, and not being too well instructed in the Christian religion, he conceived that it would be the wisest course he could adopt, and the most calculated for his vindication, to speak disrespectfully concerning Moses, declaring that he cared nothing about him, and had no acquaintance

with him, to the great amusement of the Judges.

Amongst those who were discharged at the Act of Faith, I observed one who had a gag in his mouth fastened to his ears, and was informed by the publication of his process, that it was for having spoken blasphemously in jest. In addition to the disgrace of appearing in this state, he was sentenced to transportation for five years.

## CHAP. XL.

*My departure from Goa. Arrival at the Brazils. Short Description of that Country.*

I WAS conveyed in irons on board a vessel in the road bound for Portugal, and committed to the custody of the boatswain, who undertook to deliver me to the Inquisition at Lisbon; and the captain having received his final dispatches, we weighed anchor the 27th of January, 1676, and on the same day my chains were taken off.

Our voyage to the Brazils was favourable. We arrived there in the month of May. On dropping anchor in the bay of All Saints, my guard took me ashore to the governor's palace, and thence to the public prison, where I was left in charge of the gaoler. I remained in the prison all the time the ship was in the port, but by the favour of some friends I had in the country, I was allowed to be at liberty in the day time, and shut up during the night only.

The prison of the Bay is more commodious than any I had seen, except those of the Holy Office. Above the ground floor, which is tole-

rably clean and well lighted, there are several apartments appropriated for persons charged with slighter offences, or who are rich or well connected. There is also a chapel in which the Holy Mass is celebrated on Fridays and Festivals; and there are many charitable persons in the town, who contribute to the necessities of the prisoners.

The remainder of this chapter contains an account of the Brazils and St. Salvador; and mentions the author's departure for Lisbon on the return of the fleet from Portugal in the beginning of September.

## CHAP. XLI.

*The most remarkable Events of the Voyage. Arrival at Lisbon.*

At the commencement of the voyage we had contrary winds, and with much difficulty doubled Cape St. Augustine; having been more than a fortnight in accomplishing what in tolerable weather is usually effected in three or four days.

Though our people did not fare so well as they had done on the voyage from Goa, having nothing but Cassada and salted or smoked provisions to eat, and water to drink; we had but few sick, and not more than three or four died. I have not any doubt that the constant use of sugar mixed with water and Cassada, and the profusion of dried fruits which we had taken on board before we left the Bay, contributed greatly, by encreasing the natural vigour of the constitution, to exempt us from that cruel disease the scurvy; debility being, as I apprehend, the sole cause of the malady.

Our stores had been much injured on our voyage from Goa to Brazil, and in spite of all

the care that was taken to prevent its progress, few were so fortunate as not to experience some slight attacks; the majority were in a deplorable condition upon landing, and nearly thirty died before we arrived. On the passage from the Brazils to Portugal we enjoyed perfect health, but the frequent storms we encountered, and from which we were often in danger of perishing, precluded the enjoyment of the blessing; and we had the distress of seeing two men drowned without the possibility of assisting them.

We passed the island of Fernando da Norohna, which is small, and called after the name of the discoverer. It is uninhabited, though formerly it was used as a watering-place; but since some English left several large mastiffs there, either purposely or accidentally, those animals have multiplied to such an excessive degree, and become so extraordinarily wild, that no one can land without danger of being worried.

We continued our course to the latitude of the Azores, where the Portuguese have been long established, and from whence a large proportion of the corn for the consumption of the mother country is imported. The principal

island is called Terceira, in which the king, Don Alphonso, lived in a sort of exile until his brother, Don Pedro, apprehensive lest the Spaniards should get possession of his person, took him to Lisbon, and thence to the castle of Cintra, where he was confined till his death.

We had originally intended to anchor at Terceira; but the wind being adverse, we sailed by the islands of St. Mary and St. Michael, which we durst not approach from the unrelenting violence of the tempest.

A circumstance happened to me during the voyage, which I think deserving notice. As I one day went to the altar to receive the adorable body of Christ, the person who administered, a Cordelier of Observance, remarked that I cast down my eyes when he said, "*Domine! non sum dignus*;" and though I had no other design by so doing than that of humbling myself in the presence of my God, this worthy Father, who had preconceived an indifferent opinion of me, from having been in the Inquisition, misinterpreted this mark of devotion, and a few days afterwards severely reproached me on account of it, and told me that I was still heretically inclined, because I did not even deign to look upon the Sacred Host, when he

presented it to me. I leave it to others to judge whether this was not a rash conclusion; but though I took great pains to defend myself, and explain my motive, he declared, after all, that he could not entertain a better opinion of me.

As I do not intend to speak of what does not relate to the Inquisition, I shall not enter into the minute details of the voyage. I shall say only, that after many fatigues in common with the rest, and some private vexations, we arrived at Lisbon on the 16th of December, being the eleventh month after sailing from Goa.

## CHAP. XLII and XLIII, contain a short Description of the City of Lisbon.

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## CHAP. XLIV.

*I am conveyed to a Prison called the Galley. Description of this place.*

Immediately after coming to anchor, the master under whose care I was, gave notice of my arrival to the Inquisition, to which I was taken the next day; and thence by order of the Inquisitors, (who did not condescend to see me,) to the prison called the *Galley*;—(to which, as the Portuguese do not use Galleys in their Marine, those who are sentenced to them by the Holy Office or the Lay Courts are sent.) I was chained by the leg to a man who had avoided the stake by confessing the night before his intended execution.

All the convicts were fastened in pairs by the leg, with a chain about eight feet long. Each prisoner had a belt of iron about his waist,

to which, it might be suspended, leaving about three feet in length between the two. The Galley slaves are sent daily to work in the ship yards, where they are employed in carrying wood to the carpenters, unloading vessels, collecting stones or sand for ballast, assisting in the making of rope, or in any other labour for the Royal Service, or the Officers who superintend them, though ever so mean and degrading.

Amongst those condemned to the Galleys, are not only persons committed from the Inquisition and the Civil Tribunals, but also fugitive or intractable slaves, sent by their masters for correction and amendment, Turks who have been captured from the Corsairs of Barbary; and all these, whatsoever may be their rank or quality, are alike employed in the most disgusting drudgery, unless they have money to give to the Officers, who treat with unprecedented cruelty those who cannot make them occasional presents. This Land-galley is erected on the bank of the river, and contains two large halls, one above the other; both are full, and the slaves lie on platforms covered with mats. Each has his head and beard shaved every month. They wear frocks and caps of blue cloth; and have also a surtout of thick grey serge, which serves

for a cloak by day, and a covering at night. These are all the clothes which are given to them, with a couple of shirts of coarse cloth every six months. Each prisoner has half a pound of extremely hard, and very black biscuit, daily; six pounds of salt meat every month, with a bushel of peas, lentils, or beans, with which they do as they please. Such as have other means of support, usually sell their allowances to purchase something better. There being no allowance of wine, those who drink it, buy it at their own charge. They are conducted every morning early to the ship yard, which is half a league distant, and where they work incessantly at whatever is given to them to do, until eleven o'clock. From that time until one, is allotted for rest or refreshment. When one o'clock strikes, they are summoned to resume their tasks until night, and are marched back to the Galley.

In this place there is a chapel, in which Mass is said on Sundays and Festivals. Many well-disposed Ecclesiastics who reside at Lisbon, often come to catechise and exhort the prisoners. In addition to the Royal allowance, frequent alms are bestowed, physicians and surgeons attend the sick, and if any should be

dangerously ill, all the sacraments are administered to them. Persons committing any offence are flogged in a cruel manner, being extended on the ground with their faces downwards. They are held by two men, whilst a third beats them severely on the posteriors with a thick knotted cord, which sometimes tears away the skin and large pieces of flesh. I have often witnessed cases, when, after these chastisements, it has been necessary to make deep incisions, which have degenerated into ulcers, and long rendered these wretches incapable of working.

When a slave has business in the town, he is allowed to go out, and even without his companion if he chuses, on paying for a guard, who attends him every where.

On these occasions he carries the whole chain alone, which from its length is crossed over his shoulders, so as to hang down behind or before, as he may find least inconvenient.

## CHAP. XLV.

*I apply to the Inquisition for my Release, which I ultimately obtain.*

THE day after my arrival in the galley, I was shaved, clothed, and employed like the other slaves; but painful as I found this mode of life, the privilege of seeing and conversing with any one, rendered it far less irksome, than the dreadful solitudes of the Inquisition.

According to the terms of my sentence I had five years to pass in this bitter servitude, and there was no prospect of the least remission being accorded to one who had presumed to speak against the Inquisition. Yet the desire which every wretch naturally encourages to bring his misery to a close, induced me to consider in what manner I might recover my liberty, though I hardly dared to hope that it was feasible.

I immediately enquired if there were any French in Lisbon who could give me assistance; and being informed that Monsieur ****, principal physician to the Queen of Portugal, was highly esteemed by that princess and the whole

court, I addressed myself to him, and entreated that he would take me under his protection. He complied with my request in the most obliging manner, not only by promising me his influence in every respect in which he could be of any service, but also by offering me his purse and his table ; at which he did me the honour of placing me, notwithstanding my chains, whenever I had permission to go to his house. The dress of a galley-slave did not lessen me in his estimation, and he had the goodness even to come to my prison to console me, when his leisure gave him opportunity.

I then wrote to my relations in France, to acquaint them of the deplorable condition to which I had been so long reduced, and to entreat them to make such interest for me as they might think would have weight with the Queen of Portugal, whose intercession I wished to procure in my behalf.

M. ****, who was naturally generous and beneficent, understanding by letters from Paris, that some persons whom he respected had the goodness to exert themselves for my being set at liberty, redoubled his efforts for its speedy accomplishment.

By his advice I presented an ample memo-

rial to the Inquisitors, wherein I recounted the causes of my arrest, and prayed that they would cause the excessive rigour with which I had been treated in the Indies to be relaxed.

No answer was given to this, nor to three other petitions which followed within two months. The occasion of this silence was that the post of Inquisitor-General was vacant, and Monseigneur Don Verissimo d'Alencastra, Archbishop of Braga, (who has been since created Cardinal,) having been appointed, had not taken possession of his office.

This prelate, for whose arrival I was incessantly praying, because I knew that upon him all my hopes depended, at length made his entry into Lisbon in the Passion Week; but as the Tribunals are not open during that period, I was obliged to wait until after Quasimodo (or the Sunday after Easter).

Upon the Inquisitor-General's commencing to exercise the function of his office, I preferred a new petition, which was read in the Supreme Council, but produced no other effect than that Don Verissimo said that he could not believe my representation, as it was utterly incredible that a man should have been con-

demned to the galleys for five years for such a trifling matter.

This answer gave me so much the more pleasure, as every one assured me that this Prelate was noble, learned, and generous. I therefore preferred a request that he would take the trouble to examine my case, and satisfy himself whether I had stated any thing that was false. This proposal was resisted in the Council; no one being disposed to sanction a revisal of the proceedings, because all the Tribunals of the Inquisition being sovereign, without appeal from one to another, it would be an infringement on the authority of that of Goa if its sentence should be reversed. In fact, I should never have obtained my liberation if the Inquisitor-General had not been most powerfully interested for me.

At last, after long solicitation, he suffered himself to be prevailed upon by the applications of many persons of rank, and especially of his niece, the Countess de Figueirol, who had a particular regard for the queen's first physician. Having directed the proceedings against me to be read before him, and being thus convinced that I had said nothing but the truth, and im-

pressed with a sense of the injustice and ignorance of the Judges who had condemned me on the mere ground of ill-intention, he ordered that I should be set at liberty, adding at the foot of my last petition, in his own hand, "*Seia solto como pede et seva pora França* :"—that is, "Let him be discharged according to his request, and let him go to France."

## CHAP. XLVI.

*My departure from Lisbon, and return to France.*

My petition being thus answered by the Inquisitor-General in the Supreme Council, which meets once a week or once a fortnight, was sent to the Board of the Holy Office, where audience is given twice a day; and so soon as those gentlemen sent a Familiar to inform me that my discharge was granted, I asked if there was a vessel bound to France, that I might apprise the Inquisition and be embarked without delay.

I received this intelligence on the first of June, with such sentiments of joy as none but those who have been captives can imagine; but considering the difficulty of finding a ship and negociating for my passage whilst I remained without liberty of acting, I represented by another memorial to the Inquisitors, that it would be impossible for me to avail myself of the favour they had conceded whilst I continued in chains, and without the means of ascertaining in so large a city as Lisbon what vessels entered or sailed from the port, unless I could go myself, or had any one who would take the trouble to make diligent inquiry.

The gentlemen of the Ordinary Council, who had misconceived and strictly interpreted the expressions of the Inquisitor-General when he decreed my freedom, viz. "*he shall be discharged according to his request, and go into France*," explaining the addition, which was intended as a special favour, as an absolute obligation to embark immediately, answered my memorial, that what I asked was allowed, on giving security that I should stay no longer in Lisbon than was necessary for me to meet with an opportunity to leave it. This answer was communicated the 28th of June. I immediately went to acquaint the first physician with it, entreating him to finish what he had had the goodness to begin.

Some important business prevented his going to the Inquisition that day, but he went on the 30th in the morning, and having given security for me in four hundred crowns that I should leave the country, a Familiar was sent in the afternoon of the same day, the last of June, 1677, to the galley, to take off my irons and conduct me to the Holy Office; where being summoned into the presence of the Inquisitors, one of them asking if I knew the queen's physician, told me he had become

surety for me, and that from that instant I was at liberty to go where I pleased; and then making me a motion to withdraw, I replied only by a profound obeisance, and thus escaped from the tyrannic power of the Holy Office, under the pressure of which I had groaned for nearly four years, reckoning from the day of imprisonment, which was the 24th of August, 1673, until the last of June, 1677. The first thing I did after quitting this terrible house was to go to the nearest church, and render thanks to God and the Holy Virgin for my deliverance. I next went to M. ****, who wept for joy and embraced me. I then returned to the galley, to give a last farewell to the poor wretches who had been the companions of my misfortune, and to bring away the few things which belonged to me.

I got as early information as possible when a ship would sail for France, being more anxious to return thither, and be no longer within the jurisdiction of the Inquisitors, than they could possibly be for my departure. I soon found one, and embarked. After a few slight fatigues, I had the happiness to arrive in perfect health in my native land.

## CHAP. XLVII.

*The History of a Gentleman, which unfolds the Spirit of the Holy Office.*

I SHALL conclude this account of the Inquisition by the relation of what happened, in my own knowledge, to two persons with whom I was acquainted in the Galley, at Lisbon. They were there before me, and remained when I went out, and I had many very particular conversations with them both on the subject of their own affairs and mine.

The first of these unfortunate gentlemen was Major of a regiment when he was arrested. His descent being "*Christam Novo*," he was accused of Judaism by persons who apparently had had no other means of saving their own lives but by declaring themselves guilty of the same crime, and naming many innocent persons in order to discover (as required) the witnesses against them.

The poor officer on being seized was thrown into the prisons of the Holy Office, and often examined for the purpose of drawing from his

own mouth the cause of his apprehension; but not being able to say that which he did not know, after being detained upwards of two years, it was signified to him that he was accused and convicted in due form of being an apostate Jew. This he positively declared was false, protesting that he had never deviated from the Christian religion, and denied all the charges brought against him. Nothing was omitted to induce him to confess. Not only his life, but the restoration of his property was promised. It was then attempted to intimidate him by threats of a cruel death; but nothing could shake his resolution, and he boldly told his Judges that he would rather die innocent than save his life by a meanness which would load him with eternal infamy. The Duke d'Aveira, who was then Inquisitor-General, and earnestly desirous of preserving this prisoner's life, one day visited him, and urgently exhorted him to take advantage of the opportunity thus afforded for avoiding punishment. The accused displayed a determined resolution not to injure his own reputation by acknowledging crimes he had not perpetrated. Irritated by his obstinacy, the Inquisitor-General

was so far transported as to exclaim, "*Cuides que aveis de ganhar?*" evidently meaning, What then do you mean to do? Do you think that we may be deceived? And with these words retired, leaving the prisoner at liberty to adopt his own course. The very extraordinary meaning conveyed in this speeeh excites reflections very opposite either to the honour of the Judge or of the Holy Office; as it almost implies, "We will rather cause thee to be burnt as guilty, than allow it to be supposed that we have imprisoned thee without cause."

In course of time, the period of the *Auto da Fé* advanced. After about three years' confinement the Major heard his sentence of death pronounced, and a Confessor was allotted to prepare him for it. This gentleman, who had hitherto been so firm, was moved by the approach and preparation of punishment, and on the eve of the ceremony acknowledged every thing, however false, that was required against himself. He appeared in the procession with a *Samarra* covered with flames reversed, called in Portuguese, *Fogo revolto*, to signify that by his confession, though late, he

had escaped death, after being justly condemned by the sentence of the Inquisition. In addition to the forfeiture of his goods, he was sent to the galleys for five years. He had been there more than two years when I came, and it was in this place and from himself that I learnt what I have related.

## CHAP. XLVIII.

*Remarkable History of another Gentleman.*

A Portuguese gentleman of the highest rank, who was *Christam Novo*, and extremely wealthy, called Louis Peçoadessa, having been concerned in many criminal proceedings in the Lay Courts, had incurred the hatred of many persons, who, in revenge, denounced him to the Holy Office as secretly professing Judaism with his family. In consequence, on the same day, himself, his wife, his two sons, his daughter, and some other relations who lived in his house, were arrested and taken to the prisons of the Inquisition at Coimbra.

Louis Peçoa was first interrogated for the particulars of his property, of which his real estate alone produced upwards of 30,000 livres per annum, and which, as well as his personal property, has been seized by the Holy Office. He was then urged to declare the cause of his imprisonment, which from ignorance he was unable to do. Every means in use at the Inquisition were then adopted to compel him to

confess his crimes; but nothing could affect Louis Peçoa. At the expiration of three years the accusations against him and the fatal conclusions of the Promoter were signified to him in case he persevered in his refusal; but instead of accusing he attempted to justify himself, declaring that every tittle of the accusations against him was false, demanded to know the witnesses who had deposed to them, whom he undertook to convict of perjury, and concluded by intimating to his Judges the means by which, if they chose, his innocence might be ascertained; but the Inquisitors, disregarding all that he had alleged in his defence, seeing him persist in his denial of the charge, condemned him to the flames; and his sentence was formally announced to him fifteen days before it was to be executed. The Duke de Cadaval, who was intimately connected with Louis Peçoa, and the particular friend of the Duke d'Aveira, occasionally enquired how his affair proceeded; and being informed by the Inquisitor-General, that not having confessed, and being fully convicted according to the rules of the Holy Office, he could not escape unless he accused himself before the time. This in-

formation gave him considerable uneasiness. He wished to have an interview with the unfortunate gentleman, to prevail upon him to save his life on any terms, but that was impracticable. At last, he thought of a most singular and unexampled expedient. This was to extract a promise from the Inquisitor-General, that if he could persuade Louis Peçoa to confess even after his going out to the Act of Faith, he should not be put to death, though directly contrary to the laws of the Holy Office. This he obtained, and the day of the celebration of the *Auto da Fé* being appointed, he caused some friends of his and Louis Peçoa's to leave Lisbon, and post themselves at the gate of the Inquisition. When the procession commenced, and their unhappy friend came forth, they advanced.

Being condemned, his pile was already prepared; he wore a *Carrocha* and *Samarra*, covered with flames and devils, his picture naturally represented before and behind, placed upon burning fire-brands; his sentence inscribed beneath, and his Confessor walking by his side. His friends no sooner beheld him than, bursting into tears, they threw themselves on his

neck, beseeching him, for the sake of the Duke de Cadaval, and all that was dear to him, to save his life. They told him the promise they had obtained, that he should not be executed if he would yet confess, and remonstrated that the loss of all his estate ought not to influence him, as the Duke, by whom they had been sent, had charged them to assure him that he would bestow on him more than he had been deprived of. All these reasons, nor the tears and entreaties of his generous friends made no impression on Louis Peçoa, who declared aloud that he had always been a Christian, that such he would die, and that all the charges against him were so many falsehoods invented by his enemies, and tolerated by the Holy Office to profit by his spoils. The procession being arrived at the place appointed, a sermon was preached, the proceedings were read, absolution was given to those whose lives were spared, and in the evening the publication of the causes of those who were to be burnt commenced; the deputies of the Duke de Cadaval redoubled their entreaties, and at length prevailed upon their friend to demand an audience. He arose, and said as he went along, "Come then, we will go

and commit falsehoods to gratify our friends." An audience was conceded, and he was reconducted to the prisons; but the Act of Faith being concluded when he was summoned to the Board to confess, it was with difficulty he could determine to do so, and was often on the point of having his sentence confirmed without hope of mercy. Nevertheless, he finally declared every thing they required, and signed his confession. After two years had elapsed, he was sent to Evora, where he appeared at an Act of Faith, wearing a *Samarra* with reversed flames; and having been five years in the prisons of the Holy Office, he was sentenced for other five to the galleys, whither he was sent the next day, and there I became acquainted with him, and obtained the knowledge of what I have detailed.

This unfortunate person, who was a very accomplished gentleman, and a good Christian, learnt upon his release that his wife and his daughter had died in the prisons shortly after they were confined; and that his two sons, less firm than himself, had made a timely confession, and being discharged some time before, were sentenced to banishment for ten years into

Algarva. For his own part, he waited for the period of his deliverance, and intended to leave Portugal as soon as he could, and go to pass the rest of his life in some country where there was no Inquisition.

THE END.

Joseph Simmons, Printer,
Queen-street, Hull.

# APPENDIX.

## MR. BOWER'S ACCOUNT

OF THE

# Inquisition at Macerata,

AND HIS

# *Escape into England.*

MR. ARCHIBALD BOWER, (Author of the History of the Lives of the Popes,) was born in Scotland, and at five years of age was sent over by his parents, (who were Roman Catholics) to an uncle in Italy, where he was educated, and became so great a proficient in learning, that he was appointed Professor of Rhetoric and Logic in the College at Macerata. At this place there is an office of the Inquisition, called the Holy Tribunal, which consists of an Inquisitor General, (who is president thereof) and twelve Counsellors, who are chosen by him indifferently from ecclesiastics or the laity. Each of these has a salary of about £200 sterling per annum, and an apartment in the house of the Inquisition, which is a grand building, and the residence of the Inquisitor General, who provides a table for them. Much honour and many great privileges, besides certainty of good preferment, are attached to the situation. One privilege is, that if they commit ever such enormous or flagitious crimes against the law, even murder, they cannot be apprehended, without leave from the Inquisitor General; which gives them

opportunity to escape. The Counsellors cannot be absent a single night without leave from the Inquisitor. Offences against the faith or practice of the church alone come under the cognizance of this court; and these are generally very trifling—such as saying or doing any thing disrespectful, with regard to their saints, images, relicks, or the like.

When a person is accused, the Inquisitor General summons the Council, which always meet in the night, and if any member should happen to be absent, his place is supplied by a notary; for all trials must be in full court. The President then notifies the crime, without naming the informer or the criminal. Any of the Council may object to the information; and if the number of objectors amount to four, the Inquisitor is obliged to disclose the evidence, or more properly, the informer: after which, if the objections are still persisted in, the cause must be carried to the high court at Rome: otherwise their opinions are taken whether or not the offence be such as the holy tribunal ought to notice. If it is determined to proceed against the criminal, the Inquisitor General orders any one of the Council, whom he pleases, to apprehend him at the dead hour of the night. A proper guard is assigned for that purpose, who, with dark lanthorns and arms, attend him to the poor wretch's abode; where, with the utmost silence and secrecy, (for nobody dare to make any noise or resistance on pain of excommunication) he is seized and conveyed into one of the dismal dungeons under the inquisition house. There the poor creature is confined seven or eight days, without the least glimpse of light, uninformed of the crime of which he is accused, and without other sustenance than a little bread and water once a day. The key of the dungeon is given to the Counsellor who makes the arrest, and is delivered up by him the next morning to the Inquisitor General. The

term of seven days being expired, the court is summoned for the trial, when a notary attends to write down what the criminal says, and a surgeon to feel his pulse, and to tell them how much he can bear. The machines or engines for torture being fixed, the accused is brought in; and without being told either his offence or his accuser, and denied the liberty of expostulating, he is exhorted to confess what crimes he has been guilty of; and though he makes immediate confession, even of the offence with which he is charged, yet he must ratify it on the torture, that being, as they term it, "a witness." If he cannot recollect, or refuses to confess, he is put to the torture, for not exceeding one hour. A Counsellor is placed close to him on one side, to observe that all be done according to their rules, and the surgeon on the other to ascertain the degree of torture which he is able to support. If the accused survives this hour and does not confess, he is carried back to prison for another week, and then tortured again. Should he appear to make any effort to confess, he is borne up a little to relieve him while speaking; but at whatever time he confesses, he is nevertheless tortured afterwards to confirm it; and must likewise undergo such punishment as the Inquisitors please to inflict for the supposed crime. This is generally imprisonment in one of their horrid dungeons for one, two, or three years, or more frequently for life—for few, very few, that are so unfortunate as to get into the Inquisition, live to come out; numbers, notwithstanding the barbarous assiduity used to preserve them for farther misery, expiring under the torture, or in a few days, sometimes only hours, after.

Mr. Bower mentioned three different kinds of tortures. 1st. That which they reckon the most exquisite, and, therefore call the Queen of Tortures. In this, the criminals hands are tied behind his back and fastened to a rope,

which by means of four cords, drawn over pullies at each corner of the lofty room, enables them to hoist him up to the ceiling in an instant, when he is let down again within a few inches of the ground. This process is thrice repeated; and by the sudden jerks all his bones are dislocated. The wretch is suffered to hang so disjointed until the hour is expired, or he confesses.

2d. Torture.—The next instrument is something like a smith's anvil fixed in the middle of the floor, with a spike, not very sharp at the top. Ropes are attached to each corner of the room, as in the former instance, to which the criminals legs and arms are fastened, and he is drawn up a little, and then let down with his back bone exactly on the spike of iron, where his whole weight rests.

3d Torture.—Is, what they term, a slight torture, and applied only to women. Matches of tow and pitch are wrapped round their hands and then set on fire, until the flesh is consumed.

Whilst Mr. Bower was professor in the college, the Inquisitor general contracted a great intimacy with him. One day as they were in conversation, he said—"Mr. Boyer" (for so the Italian called him) "I have a design upon you."—A speech, which from an Inquisitor General, notwithstanding his avowed friendship, carried some terror in it. But he soon explained himself, by stating that one of the members of the council was so ill, that he daily expected an account of his death; and whenever it happened, he intended him the honour of filling the place. Mr. Bower received this declaration with high satisfaction, and proper acknowledgments. Soon afterwards the sick member died, when the Inquisitor General sent for Mr. Bower, who, though he had so much reason to guess the occasion, was somewhat alarmed, but went immedidiately. On his arrival the Inquisitor General informed him, that he had sent for him to perform his promise, and

embracing him, said—"You are now one of us." A council was convened on the same night, and Mr. Bower was presented and received with the usual forms. After taking the oath of secrecy, a book called the Directory was delivered to him, containing rules for the decision and conduct of the Inquisitors, and which, for greater caution, was in manuscript. When any member is dangerously indisposed, or is appointed to a higher office, he is obliged to seal his copy with the Inquisition seal; after which it is death to open or retain it. Mr. Bower returned home much pleased with his good fortune; and being desirous to be better acquainted with the nature of his new employment, instead of going to bed, perused his Directory.

But what was his astonishment and concern to find it consist of rules, more barbarous, infamous, and inhuman than can be conceived! Rules, however, which he flattered himself, could not be observed, until experience convinced him of the contrary, and he saw the practice exemplified. Within a fortnight after Mr. B.'s admission, a poor man was brought to the office. His case was this. He had an only daughter that fell sick, for whom he prayed to the Virgin Mary—"Holy Mother of God! command thy Son that my daughter may recover." The daughter died; consequently the Virgin had not heard his prayers; and being grieved to the heart for his loss, he threw away a medal of the Virgin, which he used to carry about him, and the fact being reported to the Inquisition, the poor wretch was put to the torture.

It is not possible to express what Mr. Bower then felt, and continued to feel during his attendance at the Inquisition, where he was obliged to be, not only witness, but consenting to, barbarities his heart disapproved, and which were frequently inflicted on persons whom he believed as innocent as himself. It is extraordinary, that the violent emotions, which in spite of all his endeavours

to suppress, would frequently discover themselves, did not give his brethren cause to suspect him, especially as the Inquisitor General had once made an observation that Mr. Bower generally objected to the evidence; saying with great warmth, and striking the council board—"Mr. Boyer, you always object!"

On one occasion he evidently proved how little he was gratified by being a member of such a society. It being his turn to sit by a person who was receiving the torture, he chanced to look on the sufferer's countenance, and conceiving that he saw death in its distortions, he instantly fainted away, and was carried to his chair at the council board. When he recovered, the Inquisitor General exclaimed, "Mr. Boyer! Take your place! You do not reflect that what is done to the body is for the good of the soul, or you would not faint thus." Mr. Bower replied, that it was the weakness of his nature, he could not help it. "Nature!" said the Inquisitor, "You must conquer nature by grace!" Mr. Bower promised that he would endeavour. The poor man at that moment expiring, the discourse concluded.

Mr. Bower now projected his escape, and revolved in his mind every possible method of effecting it; but when he considered the formidable difficulties with which each was attended, and the fatal consequence if he failed; his suspence, added to the painful circumstances in which he was placed, was scarce supportable. At length an event occurred which fixed his resolution, at the same time that it afforded the Inquisitor General an opportunity of trying how far dictates, tenderer than those of nature, might be suppressed, (subdued they could not be) in Mr. Bower. A person* was accused to the inquisition, for remarking

* A nobleman—the most intimate, and the only friend of Mr. Bower, who maintained an intercourse with him after he was made a counsellor of the Inquisition—(for all ranks of people are cautious how they correspond with the Inquisition, &c.)—walking in his garden with his

to a companion, on meeting two Carthusian friars,—"What fools are these to think they shall gain Heaven by wearing sackcloth, and going barefoot! They might as well be merry, and do as we do, and they would get to Heaven as soon."

All Mr. Bower's compassion was excited, for he knew that the culprit would be treated with the utmost malice and severity; this being deemed an heinous offence against the Catholic church. But how great was his distress when he heard the name denounced of a nobleman, his dearest, his only friend! and when the Inquisitor concluded by saying—"And you, Mr. Boyer, I order to apprehend him, and bring him here between two and three this morning." "My Lord! you know the connection"—Mr. Bower was proceeding, but the Inquisitor sternly interrupted him—"Connection! what! talk of connection where the holy faith is concerned?" and rising up to go away—"See that it be done! The guards shall wait without:" and as he passed him, said—"This is the way to conquer nature, Mr. Boyer!" What passed in Mr. Bower's breast during the interval which elapsed before the time appointed, (being about an hour) those who have not tenderness enough to represent to themselves, cannot be made sensible of by all the powers of language. To give his friend notice was impossible; for the myrmidons were waiting without. To refuse going would be fatal to himself, without benefiting his friend. When told that the hour was come, he went with his awful retinue, and knocked at the door; when a maid servant looking out of the window asked who was there. Mr. Bower replied,

lady, and seeing two friars pass, with their feet and heads bare, and in the mortifying garb of their order—after they were gone some distance, and as he thought out of hearing—expressed his surprise to his lady, that any person should be so far infatuated as to believe that such a particular dress could be meritorious in the sight of God. Unhappily the friars overheard him, and reported his words to the Inquisition.

"The Holy Inquisition! Come down and open the door, without waking any body, or making the least noise, on pain of excommunication." Down came the poor girl in her shift, in such trepidation as to be scarcely able to stand. "Shew me the way to your master's room!"—"I knew the way as well as she," added Mr. Bower, when he related this, in such a tone of voice and manner as declared that all the sweet familiarity which subsisted between them, and the many friendly interviews they had had, perhaps in that very apartment, occurred at that instant to his mind.

The nobleman and his lady, to whom he had been married but six months, were asleep when they entered the room. The lady waking first, shrieked out; upon which one of the ruffians gave her a blow on the head that made the blood gush out, for which Mr. Bower severely reproved him. The nobleman, who was by this time awakened, cried out with hands and eyes lifted up in astonishment, "Mr. Bower!" and nothing more, implying thereby every aggravating circumstance, and emphatically expressing the strong emotions of his soul. No wonder that Mr. Bower was obliged to turn from him, whilst executing his commission. Nor did he dare, during the following scenes of this dreadful catastrophe, to look towards him, least his eyes should speak the language of his heart so plainly as to be understood, not only by his friend, but by the whole court.

The ensuing morning, when Mr. Bower delivered the key of the prison, and announced the arrest, the Inquisitor General said to him—"This is done like one who is desirous, at least, to conquer the weakness of nature." The nobleman underwent the queen of tortures, but was released by death three days after the infliction. His estate, as usual, was confiscated to the Inquisition, reserving a small provision only for his widowed lady, and for the

child, if she should prove to be pregnant. It may be supposed that Mr. Bower was now fully determined on an adventure, the most desperate that man ever undertook, and of which history can scarcely produce an equal. The manner of it was all that remained for consideration. It occurred to him to solicit permission to make a pilgrimage to Loretto, and for that purpose he waited on the Inquisitor General several times; but conscious of his secret intention, whenever he attempted to speak, he dreaded least the words should faulter on his tongue, and his very confusion betray him; so that still he returned as he went. One day, however, while in familiar conversation, he had the courage to say—"My Lord! 'tis long since I was at Loretto; will your Lordship give me leave to go thither for a week?"—To which the Inquisitor General gave an immediate assent. The anxiety of a mind filled with a project of such importance, and that Mr. Bower added the following to the many sleepless nights he had already passed, may be readily imagined.

Having made all his preparations, and his valuable papers, (including the Directory) being concealed in the lining of his cloaths, so soon as the horse which he had hired and ordered to be brought to him early in the morning, was come to the door; he carried down his portmanteau, and fastened it on himself. As he was mounting, he told the owner of the horse he did not know whether he should like him or not, as he was a very bad horseman, and asked what he valued him at, in case he should not suit. The man named the price and he gave him the money; and then set forwards, armed with two loaded pistols, being determined, in case of any exigence, not to be taken alive.

Mr. Bower's plan was to take the bye-roads through the Adriatic States into Switzerland; being a distance of 400 miles, before he could get out of the Pope's jurisdiction,

and with the roads through which, beyond 150 miles from Macerata, he was perfectly unacquainted. After traveling ten miles without meeting any body, he found himself at a place where two ways met; the one leading to Loretto, the other being the road whieh he proposed going. Here he stood some minutes in the most profound perplexity. The dreadful alternative appeared now in the strongest view, and he was even yet tempted to quit his darling projeet, and turn towards Loretto. But finally, collecting all the force of his staggering resolution, he pushed his horse into the contrary road; and that instant left all his fears behind.

It was in the month of April when Mr. Bower began his journey. During the first 17 days, the nature of the roads he was obliged to pursue, amongst mountains, woods, roeks and precipiees, in paths generally no better than a sheep traek, and often not so good, prevented his travelling more than 100 miles. When he met any person, which was very seldom, he pretended to have lost his way, and enquired for the high road to avoid suspicion; for he well knew, that so soon as the papers he conveyed were missing, or that there was any reason to suspect his escape, expresses would be dispatched in every direction, and every possible method adopted to secure him. In fact expresses were sent off, and in a very short time outstripped him above 100 miles.

During these seventeen days he supported himself on goat's milk, obtained from the shepherds, with such coarse victuals as he could purchase of the peasants who came to cut faggots; choosing his place of repose where there was most shelter for himself, and grass for his horse. At the expiration of this period, having fasted nearly three days, he was compelled to strike into the high road, and enter the first house he came to, which happened to be a post-house, with only one small room where gentlemen staid till their horses were changed. He requested the land-

lady to give him some victuals; but looking about he saw a paper posted up over the door, which contained the most exact and minute description of his own person, offering a reward to the value of £800 to any one who should carry him alive to the Inquisition, and of £600 for his head. This was sufficiently terrifying, as there were two countrymen in the house. He endeavoured to hide his face, by rubbing it with his handkerchief, and blowing his nose; and when he got into the room, by looking out of the window. But one of the fellows presently observing—"This gentleman does not care to be known"—Mr. Bower thought there was nothing for it but to brave it out; so turning to him, he put his handkerchief in his pocket, and said boldly—"You rascal! what do you mean? What have I done that I need fear to be known? Look at me, you villain!" The man made no reply, but got up, nodded his head, and winking significantly to his companion, they walked out together. Mr. Bower watched them from the window, but a corner obstructed his view for a few minutes. In a short time he espied them with three or four others in close conference. This forboded no good. Not a moment was to be lost. He drew out his pistols, put one in his sleeve, and with the other cocked in his hand, marched into the stable, and without saying a word, mounted his horse and rode off.

Fortunately the men wanted either presence of mind or courage to attack him, for they certainly recognized him by the description given in the advertisement. He was now again obliged to seek refuge in the woods, where he must soon have been famished, but for the superintendence of a divine providence. At night when he was almost fainting, he met with some wood-cutters, who supplied him with excellent provision. He wandered for some time through paths in which he rendered his horse more assistance than he could derive from him; being obliged to clear the roads and lead him.

As night advanced, he laid himself down, in a disconsolate condition, having no idea where he was, or which way he should turn. When the day began to break he found he was on a small eminence, whence he discovered a town at a distance, which he concluded to be one of considerable extent, from the number of its steeples, spires, &c. Though this gave him some satisfaction, yet it was not unaccompanied with terror, as he knew not what place it was, and might incur much risk by going into the high road to enquire. Nevertheless he advanced as fast as he could, and asking the first person he met, was informed it was Lucern—the residence of the Pope's Nuncio, to and from whom all the expresses concerning Mr. Bower must have been dispatched. This road not suiting his views, he left it the moment his informer was out of sight, and once more betook himself into the woods; where he wandered for some time longer, oppressed by hunger and cold, and perplexed with uncertainty whither he should go.

One dismal, dark, and wet night, he could neither find shelter, nor ascertain where he was, nor what course he should pursue; but after some time, he perceived a light at a vast distance, towards which he attempted to proceed; and with much difficulty discovered a track, but so narrow and uneven, that he was forced to extend one foot before the other in the most cautious manner. With much labour he reached the place from which he had seen the light, and which was a miserable cottage. He knocked and called until some one looked out, and demanded who he was, and what brought him there. Mr. Bower replied that he was a stranger and had lost his way. "Way!" cried the man, "there is no way here to lose!" "Why, where am I?"—"In the canton of Berne."—"In the canton of Berne? Thank God!" exclaimed Mr. Bower in raptures, "that I am in the canton of Berne!"—"Thank

God you are!" replied the man, "but for God's sake how came you here?" Mr. Bower begged that he would come down and open the door and he would then satisfy him. He did so; and Mr. Bower enquired if he had heard any thing of a person who had lately escaped from the Inquisition. "Aye! heard of him, we have all heard of him! after sending off so many expresses, and so much noise about him! God grant that he may be safe, and keep out of their hands!" Mr. Bower said, "I am the very person!" The peasant, in a transport of joy, clasped him in his arms, kissed him, and ran to call his wife, who came with every expression of pleasure in her countenance; and making one of her best curtesies kissed his hand. Her husband spoke Italian (as most of the borderers do) but she could not, and Mr. Bower not understanding Swiss, she was obliged to make her compliments in pantomime, or by her husband as her interpreter. Both expressed much concern that they had no better accommodation for him—"if they had had a bed for themselves he should have had it; but he should have some clean straw and what covering they possessed."

The good man hastened to get off Mr. Bower's wet cloathes, and wrap something about him till they were dry; and the wife to get ready what victuals they had, which (probably for the first time) they regretted were no better than a little sour grout*, and some new-laid eggs. A fresh laid egg, Mr. Bower said, was a delicacy;—and no doubt he so esteemed it at the time, and in such company. Three eggs were served up with the grout, and he made a comfortable meal; after which he enjoyed what may properly be called repose, for it was quiet and secure.

As soon as he arose in the morning, the honest Swiss and his wife (who had been long awake) but would not

* Grout is cabbage and curds, salted and put down together in a firkin, and is used by the Swiss peasants as their ordinary food.

stir least they should disturb him) came to know how he had rested. The good dame was drest in her holiday cloaths. After breakfast, the husband set out with him to direct him the road to Berne, which was at no great distance, but previously insisted on returning with him a little way to shew him the road he had taken the preceding night. Mr. Bower did not much like this. The man perceiving his doubts, reproved him for distrusting that Providence which had so wonderfully preserved him; and soon convinced him that he only wanted to increase his dependance on it for the future, by shewing him the danger he had escaped; for he saw that he and his horse had passed a dreadful precipice, where the breadth of the path would scarcely admit a horse, and the very sight of which made him shudder. The peasant accompanied him for several miles on the road to Berne, until there was no probability of losing his way; and then left him with a thousand good wishes.

So truly does religion exalt and refine the sentiments, that when Mr. Bower offered to remunerate him, though in such extreme poverty, he obstinately refused to accept any thing, saying—"God forbid! he had his reward in being in any manner instrumental to his safety!" In general those who profess the Protestant religion on the confines of the Ecclesiastic State, are remarkably zealous.

Mr. Bower proceeded towards Berne, at which place he enquired for the Minister, to whom he discovered himself, and received from him as hearty a welcome as he had experienced from the honest Swiss, with the addition of more elegant entertainment but was advised to go forward the next morning to Basle; for, though protected from open violence, he was not secure from secret treachery.

Basle being situate on the Rhine, a boat sailed at stated times from thence to Holland, which was usually crowded

by people of desperate characters, from all parts of the Continent, flying from the laws of their respective countries, for theft, murder, and crimes of every description. This conveyance seemed to afford the most expeditious mode of getting to England, and the Minister gave Mr. Bower a letter of recommendation to his friend, the minister at Basle, who received him kindly, and approved of the plan suggested.

During the two days following his arrival, before the sailing of the passage-boat, Mr. Bower kept close quarters, and equipped himself in a manner suitable to the company with which he was about to associate, putting his own cloaths into his portmanteau: of which, as he was instructed to be particularly careful, he made his seat by day and his pillow by night. Being obliged to leave his horse, which was endeared to him by the hardships it had shared with him, he was determined to place it in the hands of a kind master, and presented it to the friendly Minister, who promised that it should be ridden by no one but himself; and that, when it became old or infirm, it should be comfortably maintained. So inseparable are tenderness and humanity, from true greatness of soul, that Mr. Bower shed some tears at parting with his companion and assistant in his difficulties.

Disgusting as he found the company in the boat, he was compelled to regret the necessity of leaving it, in consequence of having sprung a leak, which obliged the master to put in at Strasburgh for repairs, which might detain him a fortnight. To stay there was impossible. Mr. B. therefore, took off the shabby dress in which he was disguised, at the first Inn he saw, and concealing it beneath the bed, stole out with his portmanteau to a tavern, from whence he sent to engage a place in the stage to Calais. For the first two or three days of his journey, he heard nothing concerning himself; which induced him

to hope that the news of his escape had not yet reached France: but in this he was disappointed, for as he approached Calais he found it was the subject of general conversation.

On his arrival at Calais, he was introduced into an apartment in which were two Jesuits, who wore the Red Cross of the Inquisition, and several officers of the police. He instantly hastened to the quay, and enquiring when the packet sailed for England, was informed not till the Monday following, that day being Friday. Upon this he turned to a fisherman, and asked if he would carry him over in an open boat; but he, as well as others to whom he applied, astonished at the rashness of the design, refused. He was soon convinced this was a wrong step, for the eyes of every body were fixed upon him, as a person of extraordinary consequence: concluding that either he had dispatches of the last importance, or was some enormous offender escaping from justice. Every thing seemed to conspire to distress him, and he began to doubt the possibility of reaching his inn, apprehending that every one he met was about to lay hold of him. When he got there, finding the room where the Jesuits had been unoccupied, he enquired of a woman who belonged to the house, what had become of the good company he had left there. "O sir!" says she "I am sorry to tell you—but they are up stairs searching your portmanteau!" What course to pursue he could not determine. By water he knew he could not escape; and in order to get through the gates he must pass the guards, who, most probably were prepared to intercept him. If it were practicable to secrete himself till it was dark, and attempt to scale the walls, he was unacquainted with their height; and if detected, he was ruined. The dangers he had surmounted now aggravated the terror of his situation. After weathering so long a storm to perish within sight of

the desired haven, was a distracting thought. It seemed that a most singular interposition of Providence alone could prevent it. Whilst engaged in these sad reflections, he heard some company laughing and talking very loud; and listening at the door, he found that the conversation was in a language which he did not understand. Concluding, therefore, that the party was English, he rushed into the room, and recollecting the face of Lord Baltimore, whom he had seen at Rome, he requested the favour of a word in private with his Lordship. The surprise occasioned by his sudden appearance, with one pistol cocked in his hand, and another in his sleeve, was increased by Mr. Bower's request, accompanied by his determined air. Lord Baltimore desired he would lay down his pistol, which he did, begging pardon for not having done so before: some of the gentlemen then told him of the other, which he likewise laid down. Lord Baltimore then asked him if he had any other arms about him; and being assured he had not, he directly retired with him into another apartment. On being informed who he was, Lord Baltimore exclaimed, "Mr. Bower! you are undone, and I cannot protect you; they are above searching your apartment!" But a lucky thought fortunately occurring, he instantly returned to his company, and proposed that they should rise up, and taking him in the midst of them, try to cover him till they could get to his Lordship's boat. To which the gentlemen immediately assented, and the scheme succeeded: for the boat being very near, they got to it unobserved, and all jumping in, they rowed with four pair of oars, to a yatcht that lay off the shore about two miles, in which the party had come for an excursion, and to drink a bottle of French wine. The wind being fair, they soon reached Dover, where he was safely landed.

William Rawson, Printer, Lowgate, Hull.

